

*The  
Growth of  
American Thought*

# THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN THOUGHT

THIRD EDITION

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# Preface to the Third Edition

Conceived and largely written in the 1930s, the original edition of *The Growth of American Thought* assumed that ideas could best be understood in terms of their social context and social utility. Because it also assumed that the life of the mind depends in large measure on the existence and activity of the agencies of culture, it emphasized the role of the church, government, and business, the development of schools, publishing, and libraries, the impact of wars and economic crises. I was well aware that another approach was possible and desirable: one that systematically analyzed ideas in terms of their philosophical foundations, internal structure, and interrelationships. In *The Growth* and in other writings I tried my hand at this approach and urged others, with better training, to probe deeply and systematically into what I called "the interior of ideas." I thought at the time, and still think, that a combination of these two main approaches is highly desirable.

Since the appearance of the second edition of *The Growth of American Thought* in 1951, some scholars have carried the functional approach much further than I did. This has been particularly true of intellectual historians who have been sensitive to the role of American ideas and values in the contest with totalitarianism. But the main emphasis in scholarship has been on the systematic inner analysis of ideas. The only general synthesis that has been largely governed by this approach is Stow Persons' *American Minds* (1958). But a long list of essays and monographs, cited in the new bibliographical note of the present edition, has greatly enriched the literature of American intellectual history through the internal analysis approach. The reaction against the study of movements of thought in social context and in terms of social uses reflects dissatisfaction with the assumption that the instrumentality of ideas is a valid and useful key to understanding them. The reaction also reflects the vogue of the consensus interpretation of American historical

have tried to take into account the new scholarship and fresh points of view. I have also added a chapter on the intellectual and cultural interests of the 1950s. Whatever its shortcomings, this chapter has profited from the criticisms of my seminars and of friends, particularly Irvin G. Wyllie, Kendall Birt, Fulmer Mood, and Louis C. Hunter, and of my daughter, Martha Wohlforth.

I want to express my appreciation to Gail Bremer, who did tedious checking, and to Mildred Lloyd, who typed and retyped portions of the present edition of *The Growth*. But my main debt is to Raymond J. Wilson who, as my research assistant, carefully analyzed the text of the 1951 edition in relation to the recent monographic and interpretative literature.

Many basic books, old and new, are available to scholars, teachers, and students of intellectual history, often in inexpensive paperback form. Despite this rich supply, I dare to hope that the comprehensive synthesis of *The Growth of American Thought*, together with its revised discussion of specific problems, will guarantee its future usefulness. I hope, too, that the book may continue to suggest themes and problems for investigation.

Merle Curti

January, 1964

If the history of the growth of knowledge, thought, values, and the agencies of intellectual life is not to be a mere chronicle, it is necessary to explain, as far as possible, how this growth took place. The factors that have aided and the factors that have retarded it must be considered. The status of knowledge, the tissue of thought, the cluster of values are all at any particular time affected by the physical environment and economy, polity, and social arrangements, all more or less in the process of change. Because the American environment, physical and social, differed from that of Europe, Americans, confronted by different needs and problems, adapted the European intellectual heritage in their own way. And because American life came increasingly to differ from European life, American ideas, American agencies of intellectual life, and the use made of knowledge likewise came to differ in America from their European counterparts. The interrelationships between the growth of thought and the whole social milieu seem to be so close and have been so frequently neglected that this study of American life has tried consistently to relate that growth to the whole complex environment. It is thus not a history of American thought but a social history of American thought, and to some extent a socioeconomic history of American thought.

This emphasis on the relationships between developing ideas and bodies of knowledge on the one hand and other phases of American life on the other imposes certain limitations, if the account is to be encompassed in a single volume. An effort has been made throughout to describe in broad outline the nature of the dominant ideas and to indicate the major contributions made by Americans to exact knowledge. But this study does not purport to provide an exhaustive analysis of the "interiors" of the ideas and systems of thought chosen for consideration. Such analyses, in the manner of Bury's *History of the Idea of Progress* or Lovejoy's *Great Chain of Being*, would indeed be valuable, but they are not a part of the plan of this book. The emphasis chosen has also precluded a full discussion of the development of each of the intellectual disciplines in America. The study is primarily a social history of American thought.

This study of American intellectual life is organized in chronological periods according to ideas which may be thought of as characteristic of the successive eras in that history. Complex and long though the colonial era was, different though American life and thought on the eve of the Revolution were from life and thought in the seventeenth century, the

of individualism and reform, ideas and systems of thought reflected the challenge implicit in the application of science to life, and these reform and protest ideas stimulated a counterdefense in the name of conservative interests.

In the twentieth century optimism has been subject to diversion, criticism, and contraction. The imperialistic adventure of 1898 and subsequent years and the crusade of 1917 to make the world safe for democracy were followed by disillusionment, criticism, and complacency, and then by renewed optimism in the decade of the 'twenties. But the breakdown in economy during the 'thirties eventuated in new intellectual searches, and the world crisis intensified the widespread pessimism and uncertainty.

No brief is held for the superiority of the organization of this study. With a different set of purposes a different organization would be natural. The fact that a treatment based on leading social attitudes is combined with a chronological division of the subject matter means that a particular person or group, or a given conception or attitude, is often dealt with in different connections in different parts of this book. But this is unavoidable in a work departing as this does from a strictly chronological treatment.

The problem of emphasis, of selection and rejection of materials, and that of chronology have not been the only difficulties encountered. The sources for a study of American intellectual history are abundant—formal treatises by theologians, philosophers, scientists, and social scientists; autobiographies and letters of scholars, published and unpublished; novels, tales, poems, essays, critical reviews in periodicals; records of the agencies of intellectual life, schools, colleges, foundations, learned societies, publishing houses, newspapers, and the like; collections of folklore, folk songs, ballads, and proverbs; literature written and published for the masses—these are only some of the materials available. In some measure this study rests on such materials. But the scope of this undertaking is so vast that by necessity monographic literature bulks large. Of this there is an impressive amount, in spite of the fact that students of American history have long been primarily concerned with political, military, economic, and social activities and institutions.

Even from the start, however, intellectual interests were in some measure represented in historical writing. Edward Johnson, one of

the *History of the People of the United States* (1883) devoted refreshing attention to intellectual developments and interests, and this emphasis was sustained in subsequent volumes. Eight years after the appearance of McMaster's first volume Henry Adams, in his *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, made an effort to fathom the "American mind" of the early nineteenth century. Edward Eggleston called attention to the need for studying the cultural development of the American people. He did not carry out his full plans, but the appearance in 1901 of *The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century* broke new ground. About this time Moses Coit Tyler was bringing to a close his scholarly and comprehensive literary history of the colonial and revolutionary periods, the first volume of which had appeared in 1878.

New European emphases in the historical studies of European development were not without their influence. In England, Green's *Short History of the English People* carried still further the tradition of Macaulay and others in devoting some attention to the social and cultural chapters of the nation's past, and historians of France were following in the same course. The visit to America in 1904 of the German historian, Karl Lamprecht, did much to focus attention on cultural history, broadly conceived. Taking up the work of Dr. John Draper of New York University, who had published in 1863 *The Intellectual Development of Europe*, James Harvey Robinson of Columbia University called the attention of students of American history as well as those in the European field to the history of man's mind as an important means of determining how the past gave way to the present. Evarts B. Greene, Frederick J. Turner, Edward Channing, and, on the Pacific coast, Herbert E. Bolton, all gave attention to the development of intellectual interests.

In the period since the First World War great strides have been made in the study of our intellectual past and this aspect of our history has begun to come into its own. The publication in 1917 and the following years of the *Cambridge History of American Literature* was significant by reason of its scope and scholarship. When the *History of American Life* under the editorship of Dixon Ryan Fox and Arthur M. Schlesinger began to appear in 1927, it was clear beyond doubt that our intellectual history is both richer than anyone had supposed it to be and, furthermore, susceptible of the same scholarly treatment that other aspects of the national life have received.

example, or in geography, history, or psychology. The studies that do exist are for the most part lacking in comprehensiveness.

Nor have all the histories of knowledge, of thought, and of speculation related the subject matter to changing social, economic, and cultural conditions. In a few cases, it is true, efforts to do so have been made. In this field Vernon L. Parrington was a pioneer. *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927, 1930) related the writings of American men of letters, political leaders, orators, and other figures to the social and economic conflicts in American life, especially to agrarianism on the one hand and to capitalism on the other. Bernard Smith's *Forces in American Criticism* (1939) carried this approach further. In the chapters in *The Rise of American Civilization* and *America in Midpassage* dealing with American cultural interests, the Beards have achieved notable success in the integration of ideas and interests, of cultural values, systems of thought, and bodies of knowledge with the context of which all these are part.

Some may contend that the history of intellectual life in America cannot be written now for the reason that adequate special studies on which a general synthesis must rest have not yet been made. According to one widely held view, efforts to grasp the whole or any part, even in thought, are useless until preliminary inquiries have been completed. In fact, however, monographic studies made without thought about the relations of the special to the general are likely to be arid.

Actually it is not possible, of course, for specialized research and writing to proceed without some reference to thought, however stray and surreptitious such thought may be, about the wider relationships. Since particulars do bear relations to the general, preliminary thought about the problem of these relations, based of course on the knowledge available, can aid in the production of monographs that will be useful as the higher and higher generalizations are reached. To wait until scholars have completed all the requisite special studies is to postpone wider consideration on the assumption that these studies will in fact be completed; such an assumption may or may not be warranted. So to wait is to deprive even particular inquiries of the thought about the problem of the whole, which is available at the present stage in the development of the theme.

The task of writing a social history of American thought may be undertaken, meantime, in the light of present thought and knowledge.

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*Adaptation  
of the  
European  
Heritage*

# I \* \* \* \* \* The Christian Heritage

*The Old Spirit of New England hath been sensibly going out of the world, as the old saints in whom it hath gone; and instead the return of the spirit of the world with a lamentable neglect of strict piety has crept in upon the rising generation.*

—COTTON MATHER, 1702

*I was not only taught patience, but also made thankful to God who thus led me about and instructed me, that I might have a quick and lively feeling of the Afflictions of my fellow-Creatures, whose Situation in life is difficult.*

—JOHN WOOLMAN, 1774

The Christian tradition, introduced by the first comers, reinforced by nearly all their European successors, and perpetuated by conscious effort, was the chief foundation stone of American intellectual development. No intellectual interest served so effectively as Christian thought to bring some degree of unity to the different classes, regions, and ethnic groups. Whatever differences in ways of life and whatever conflicts of interest separated the country gentry and great merchants from the frontiersmen, poor farmers, artisans, and small shopkeepers, all nominally subscribed to Christian tenets and at least in theory accepted Christianity as their guide. However much French Huguenots, Dutch and German Calvinists, German and Swedish Lutherans, German and Swiss Baptists differed in creed and culture from one another and from the English-speaking Calvinists, Quakers, Anglicans, Baptists, and Catholics, all adhered to a core of common beliefs and values. However widely all

## Clerical Support of Intellectual Life

In the early decades of American experience the clergy, whose duties were multiple and pressing, were the leading representatives of intellectual interests. Some acted as physicians and legal advisers, others taught the young. A surprising number found time to write theological tracts or treatises that stimulated the development of printing presses in the colonies and frequently elicited praise from their colleagues in the Old World. In the later seventeenth century and especially in the eighteenth, when the colonial population became more numerous and society more complex, intellectual functions were more frequently divided and specialized. But even at the end of the colonial era the clergy continued to be a force as intellectual leaders.

This leadership was well exemplified by the role of the clergy in the development of the colonial colleges. Anglican, Lutheran, and Calvinist churches alike insisted on a trained clergy, and hence provision had to be made for their higher education. Harvard and Yale provided the necessary facilities for the New England Congregationalists; the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and the "log colleges" that sprang up in the mid-eighteenth century in the Middle Colonies existed for the Presbyterians, Queens College (Rutgers) for the Dutch Reformed churches, and the College of William and Mary and King's College (Columbia) for the Anglicans. It is true that in Philadelphia, where the Quakers repudiated the need for a trained clergy, a college was launched in 1741 that in some measure represented secular interests; but the other colonial colleges were all founded to give ecclesiastical training. The clergy provided these colleges, including the College of Philadelphia, with the main body of their faculties; and even at the end of the colonial period, when secular interests were stronger than they were a hundred years earlier, many college students were planning a ministerial career.

Intellectual leadership of the clergy was also evident in the support they gave to higher learning outside college halls. The Calvinist, Lutheran, and Anglican clergy in the Middle and Southern Colonies frequently befriended natural science and almost always supported classical knowledge and culture. The learning of the New England clergy is proverbial. In his erudite study, *The New England Mind*, Perry Miller has

for understanding human nature and human relations. But he believed that direct personal communication with God enabled man to test, supplement, and revise what he learned by the outward and more obvious processes of knowledge and what he received through others, no matter how authoritatively they might speak, whether on secular or on spiritual matters. Woolman wrote in his *Journal* that "as the mind was moved by an inward principle to love God as an invisible, incomprehensible being, by the same principle it was moved to love Him in all His manifestations in the visible world."<sup>1</sup> The fact that Woolman and his fellow Quakers did not feel the need of learned ministers to interpret religious truths and that he believed in the power of even the most humble among them to speak the tongue of the Spirit, tended to break down the prevailing barriers between the learned and the untutored at the same time that authoritative creeds and priests were rejected as sources of Christian truth.

The emphasis on the religious feelings and intuitions of the individual layman as a source of divine truth, as the way of illuminating the meaning of Scripture, made inroads on churches that attached importance to tradition, a trained clergy, and ecclesiastical authority. Belief in the inspiration of laymen by the Holy Spirit found exponents in early Massachusetts Bay; Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams defied the theocracy by insisting on the inalienable, God-given right of every individual to search for the Lord's truth in his own soul. Anne Hutchinson's anti-nomianism was peculiarly subversive of a society founded on orthodoxy and hierarchy. She insisted, in somewhat the same fashion as the Quakers, that God's love was communicated immediately to the regenerate, and that this love served the saint as a guide to action. Thus, no mediation of the clergy was necessary, either for salvation or for right conduct. The theocracy of Massachusetts Bay was able to banish Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams. But their ideas were not so easily stilled. In the eighteenth century Jonathan Edwards fostered anew the development of the emotional, intuitive, and personal strains in Puritanism. At about the same time the Middle Colonies witnessed the impact of German Pietism on the Lutheran and German Reformed churches, a movement which subordinated intellectualistic theology to personal fervor and piety. In both the Middle and Southern Colonies Presbyterian

<sup>1</sup> Amelia M. Gummere (ed.), *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (The Macmillan Co., 1922), 156.

literature but books on mathematics, history, and agriculture. In this connection the pioneer work of Dr. Thomas Bray and his "associates" in Maryland and Virginia is memorable. In New England the custom of printing sermons contributed to public instruction and enlightenment. The sermon dealt not only with matters of faith and morals. The funeral sermon retailed and interpreted news of shipwrecks and other calamities. The ordination sermon was weighted with theological learning, and the election day sermon aimed to advance political understanding and, of course, to influence political action. Finally, the stimulus the weekly sermon provided for household discussion enlarged the mental horizons of many plain people who thus found an intellectual interest in Christianity as well as comfort, support, and social outlet.

### The Sources of Christian Truth

No function of the trained clergy was regarded as of equal importance with the exposition of God's Word, for in the last analysis each branch of Christianity fell back on revelation as the only sure path to knowledge and truth. God had spoken and His Word, contained in the Bible, was holy, absolute, and final.

The profound differences in doctrine, worship, and church government that separated the various branches of Christendom were overshadowed by the importance every Christian group attached to the Bible, the Book of Books. Catholics and Anglicans put less emphasis on individual Bible reading than other Christians, but the Bible was their final authority on matters of doctrine and the ultimate source of God's revelation. As such it occupied an indispensable place in church services. The early Puritan prejudice against reading the Scriptures in church services because it smacked of Catholic and Anglican liturgy had begun to disappear before the end of the seventeenth century. The Bible was to be found in almost every Calvinist household that possessed any books at all, and it was read not only once but over and over again. The obligation to read it was the chief reason for universal elementary education in communities dominated by Calvinism. Children sometimes learned their first letters from its pages; and even when they got their start in a catechism, a book of piety, or the highly Biblical *New England Primer*, they were soon graduated to the Testaments. The Bible constituted the chief reading matter

tarianism: the education of children was to be controlled either in sectarian schools or, as in New England, in public schools whose policies and practices were determined by the orthodox in the community. It also meant that the development of higher education was generally regarded as the business of the various sects.

Sectarianism also exerted an unmeasurable yet nevertheless positive influence on intellectual habits. It resulted from and tended to strengthen naïve and absolutistic ways of thinking: if one steadfastly adhered to the principles of his own sect, he must believe not only in the superiority of its creed but also in the inferiority of every other. Thus Baptists were convinced that the immersion of adults rested on Scriptural authority and was thus immensely preferable to the baptism of infants by sprinkling.

Bitter though the rivalry among Protestant groups was, they all shared a common hatred of Catholics. This had its roots in the rancor that most seventeenth-century Anglo-Americans felt toward "popery"; a rancor shared by the Huguenots who settled in South Carolina and other colonies, by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the back country of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas, and by the German-speaking Lutherans and Calvinists in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The relative proximity to Catholic foes during the French and Indian War still further accentuated anti-Catholicism. Calvinist clergy denounced the papacy; the colleges closed their doors to adherents of Rome; and with few exceptions provincial governments either excluded Catholics or discriminated against them.

## The Origin of the Universe

From the point of view of intellectual history the most distinguishing feature of Christianity was its acceptance of a particular type of supernaturalism. In one way or another this dictated the Christian view of the origins of the physical universe, the character of human nature, social relationships, and esthetic values.

To all but the most liberal Christians—whose number to be sure was growing—the area in which the supernatural agency of God constantly exerted itself was very large. Orthodox Christians of all sects regarded the universe as God's handiwork, something He had created and which was separate from Him. The book of Genesis told the story. According to

grace when the devil tempted Eve. In consequence the sons and daughters of man had thereafter been born in sin. All likewise subscribed to the doctrine of personal immortality and to the idea that man might, directly or indirectly, enlist divine aid in meeting worldly trials. Save for the Calvinists all entertained the possibility of personal salvation for every man, woman, and child.

The Calvinist conception of human nature, shared by New England Puritans, the Dutch and German Reformed churches, and the Presbyterians, did not make a mere automaton of man; he had limited free will, but this did not essentially lessen the base and weak character that was his. Whatever virtue, whatever rationality a man might have was a mere vestige of his creation in God's image. The Fall had almost completely corrupted the faculties of man's soul—his memory, his imagination, his reason, his will—and only God's grace could cleanse the soul and return the faculties to balance and order. One of the leading Puritan thinkers, Thomas Hooker, placed the central difficulty in the corruption of the imagination, which in turn defiled all other faculties. "A man's imaginations," Hooker wrote, "are the forge of villainy, where it's all framed, the warehouse of wickedness, the magazine of all mischief and iniquity, whence the sinner is furnished to the commission of all evil . . . the sea of abominations, which overflows into all the senses, and they are polluted into all the parts of the body, and they are defiled and carried aside with many noisome corruptions."<sup>3</sup>

This pessimistic view of human nature, with its expectation of eternal punishment for all save the elect few, cut deep and left many marks. One of the most popular poems in New England continued to be Michael Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom." In this grim seventeenth-century description of judgment day the Calvinistic God of wrath and justice spared none of the damned the fullness of torment:

For day and night, in their despite  
 Their torment's smoke ascendeth,  
 Their pain and grief have no relief,  
 Their anguish never endeth,  
 There must they be and never die,  
 There must they dying, ever lie,  
 And not consume away.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1953), 258.

regarded as good in so far as the true and the divine entered into a given regenerate individual; and in the early eighteenth century several New England clergymen, under the influence of the rationalistic element in Puritanism and the rising deism, looked on human nature with some measure of optimism. It will be remembered that Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams, and the Quakers, while admitting that the flesh is weak, nevertheless regarded it as the vehicle through which the Holy Spirit moves. Anglicans, notwithstanding their emphasis on piety and morals, seem in practice to have viewed human nature more charitably than the Calvinists, in any case they were less concerned with private morals if the forms of the church were decently observed. Catholic doctrine also emphasized the divine spark in every human being. Nor was the grim Calvinistic conception of child nature shared by all religious men. A Lutheran synod in 1760 took a realistic and humane view of child nature in declaring that the Bible must be so presented in religious instruction that children "may feel in their youthful sensuousness as if a box of sugar or something of that sort had been opened for distribution." The German Mennonite schoolmaster, Christopher Dock, observed in his *Schulordnung* (1750) that because of the humanitarian sentiments prevailing in America, schoolmasters could not treat children as strictly as custom in the Old World prescribed. Dock's conception of child nature was revealed in his insistence that the cause of moral infractions on the part of some children must be patiently and intelligently inquired into, and in his emphasis on the principle of loving understanding as the basis of all discipline.

### Esthetics in Christian Thought and Expression

The subordinate role that Americans have frequently given to beauty has often been attributed to the horror with which Quakers and Calvinists regarded any appeal to the senses in worship and to their tendency to deprecate sensuous beauty in everyday life. It is indeed true that seventeenth-century Puritans limited music in church to a dismal and unmelodious psalmody, and that Quakers justified their exclusion of it altogether on the score that, in Penn's words, "to bewitch the heart with temporal delight by playing upon the instruments and singing, was to forget God." Nor can it be denied that both Calvinists and Quakers



tributed many highly figurative hymns to a volume entitled *Zionitic Hill of Incense or Mountain of Myrrh, wherein are to be found all sorts of lovely and sweet-smelling odors, prepared according to the apothecary's art. Consisting of all sorts of Love-operations in divinely sanctified souls, which has expressed itself in many various spiritual and lovely Hymns.* It was not only in *The Song of the Solitary and Deserted Turtle Dove* that Beissel's religious mysticism found esthetic expression. He invented a new system of harmony emphasizing peculiar arrangements in the falsetto, and trained the Cloister Sisters to celebrate in picturesque song the awakening of God's kingdom at the setting of the sun and the midnight appearance of the Bridegroom. At the Moravian colony in Bethlehem great emphasis was put on choral work, orchestration, and composition. In 1742 the Collegium Musicum not only enriched the Moravian liturgy but presented in concert form the great music of the Old World. Among many of the Pennsylvania Germans love of beauty also found expression in illuminated manuscripts. At Ephrata this form of esthetic expression was carried to a high level.

The view that esthetic appeals to the senses had their value not only colored the attitude of Anglicans and Catholics toward form and ritual in worship but in some measure affected their outlook on the everyday world. This was in part true also of the Swedish and German Lutherans. Adherents to these liturgical faiths preserved, so far as circumstances permitted, the grand tradition of beauty in church architecture and the use of the organ in worship. As wealth increased, church structures of dignity and beauty appeared in the larger cities. To cite only a few examples, Christ Church in Philadelphia, which was built in 1724 in the Sir Christopher Wren style, installed an organ in 1728 and chimes a few years later; the lovely Rhode Island church presided over by Dean Berkeley was another pioneer in the use of organ music; and the Anglican churches in Charleston exemplified the simplicity, proportion, and stateliness of the architecture of the Georgian renaissance in the mother country. St. Barnabas (Episcopal) Church in St. Anne's parish in Maryland employed the Swedish artist Hesselius to decorate the altar with a "last supper." In Philadelphia St. Peter's Church, noted for its fenestration and the general beauty of its interior, embodied the Catholic conception of esthetics in worship. In 1774 John Adams, after attending services in St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia, wrote to his wife that "the music, consisting of an organ and a choir of singers, went all the

sored by the well-known printer of Boston and Worcester, Isaiah Thomas. The first edition of the *Laus Deo* (1786) included the Hallelujah Chorus and many familiar and popular religious songs. Most of the newer books also included a few hymns composed by Americans, the most celebrated of which were Samuel Davies' "Lord I am Thine, Entirely Thine" and Timothy Dwight's austere choral "I love Thy Kingdom, Lord." Francis Hopkinson, the Philadelphian whose original song *My Days Have Been so Wondrous Free* (1759) is regarded as colonial America's earliest secular composition, achieved a wide reputation as a psalmist by virtue of his adaptation of the Psalms of David for the Dutch Reformed church in New York. This work, together with James Lyon's *Urania* (1761), which likewise marked an achievement in psalmody, indicated that in the Middle Colonies as well as in New England Calvinistic religion was responding to the demand for new and better musical standards in church services.

Calvinist church architecture as well as its church music improved greatly during the eighteenth century. This was partly due to the fact that in the larger and richer communities more means were available for church structures. The spread of Anglicanism and the new architectural fashions in England represented by Sir Christopher Wren and his school also played a part in this development. If the greater emphasis put on ecclesiastical architecture among Calvinists did not consciously reflect the growing idea that objects of beauty might properly turn man's thoughts and feelings toward God, it nevertheless must have enhanced the esthetic experience of the worshiper.

### Christian Doctrines and Social Attitudes

Whatever their persuasion, Christians shared certain social ideas. Yet, here, as in conceptions of human nature and esthetics, there was much variety and even considerable contradiction. The Dutch Calvinists, and even more the Swedish and German Lutherans, refrained from applying religious doctrines to political issues. When political authority was seriously challenged, Anglicans tended to emphasize the doctrine of passive obedience to divinely constituted political powers; but they by no means always made a religious duty of political obedience. The Quakers, Mennonites, Dunkers, and other related sects carefully defined the degree of

sermons. Representative of these was one by the Reverend Joseph Morgan. In 1732 this spokesman of the Lord argued that the poor should be content with their station and that the rich should be sustained in theirs. The poor, Morgan went on, have in general "a more comfortable Life here, and far less danger as to the next Life. . . . A Rich Man has a *miserable* Life; for he is always full of Fear and Care. . . . Whereas a man that has but Food and Raiment with honest Labour, is free from these fears and Cares. . . . We need to *pity* and *love* Rich Men." But, Morgan hastened to add, the accumulation of riches is a public good: "Thus God in his *Wisdom* and *Mercy* turns our Wickedness to Publick Benefits."<sup>4</sup>

The Christian's obligation cheerfully to accept his station was an idea transmitted to the young Republic. Noah Webster, the author of the widely used *Spelling Book* (1783), is only one of many well-known Americans who entertained social beliefs similar to those expressed in such colonial sermons as that of Joseph Morgan. Webster noted in his diary that the Christian must show patient submission to "the evils of life and calm acquiescence in the disposition of divine providence which suffers no more evils to take place in the system than are necessary to produce the greatest possible good." The poor were to submit to poverty with faith that they might better their lot through the practice of frugality, industry, and obedience to the moral teachings of God.

Most colonial Americans recognized that they had as great an obligation to obey civil authorities as to respect their social and economic superiors. British patriotism was a Christian duty which at least the English-speaking Calvinists and Anglicans preached from their pulpits. The fact that the Empire's chief enemies, France and Spain, were Catholic in faith merely served to deepen the patriotic zeal of English-speaking clergymen whose hatred of Rome remained intense. The Dutch and German-speaking Calvinists and Lutherans felt less enthusiasm for Britain. But as Protestants who hated Romanism and as advocates of the doctrine of obedience to civil authority, they tended to go along with their English-speaking Protestant brethren. In the minds of the orthodox it was not only a Christian duty to obey the state but it was the patriotic obligation of civil authorities in turn to support religion.

By and large, Christian doctrine was used to reinforce an economy

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Morgan, *The Nature of Riches, Shewed from the Natural Reasons of the Use and Effects Thereof* . . . (Philadelphia, 1732), 14, 15, 17, 21.

ment of evil which the faithful should not use led to "sufferings" when provinces in which they were in a minority engaged in war. Many preferred harsh punishment to the betrayal of their conscience. In Pennsylvania, where the Quakers long controlled the colonial government, the peace policy that was pursued served fairly well the economic interests of the Friends, many of whom profited from the Indian fur trade. Moreover, unlike the Scotch-Irish on the frontier, seaboard Quakers did not face the immediate danger of Indian attack. Yet the Friends surrendered control of the Pennsylvania government during the French and Indian War rather than take the responsibility for conducting war.

The limitation of authority also owed much to the minority groups struggling for religious freedom. Such struggles were unnecessary in four colonies—Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware—where, for the first time in modern history, church and state were entirely separated. Elsewhere, however, the situation was different. The seventeenth-century Maryland Catholics and the eighteenth-century New England Anglicans alike contributed to the growth of religious freedom, not because they believed in it as a Christian principle of universal application, but rather because without it their own position was hardly endurable. Opportunism played a part, too, in the eighteenth-century struggles of Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists in colonies where Anglicanism or Congregationalism was established. But some among these groups, especially the Baptists, were also ardent believers in religious freedom as a basic Christian principle; in this they were disciples of Roger Williams and the seventeenth-century Quakers, Mennonites, and other quietistic sects, who had taken the same position. Since minority religious groups could not enjoy full civil rights in provinces where an established church existed, every contest for religious freedom was likewise one for political democracy. Thus Christianity could lend itself to the support of democratic as well as undemocratic political and social practices.

The struggle of the dissenting sects for religious freedom was not their only contribution to democratic ideas and practices. In asserting the importance of a common humanity in contradistinction to a class society, evangelical religion still further charted the road to freedom. Lesser folk who resented political and social domination by the ruling strata in society saw in the revivals one means of protest, one way to defy the well-educated professional groups and privileged merchants and planters.

But general concern for the less fortunate colonial Americans seems first clearly to have appeared among the Friends and Mennonites. In the latter part of the seventeenth century Pastorius urged Friends in Pennsylvania to free their slaves. From 1754, when John Woolman wrote *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*, until his death in 1772, this Quaker teacher tried to persuade Friends to emancipate their slaves. In 1776 the Philadelphia Meeting excluded those who refused to free their bondsmen. Woolman, whose conception of a compassionate religion with disinterested service to the lowly was so concretely expressed by his life and in his imperishable *Journal*, also preached the Christian virtue of a just distribution of man's worldly goods. In his eyes excessive riches and abject poverty flooded the land with endless ills. Although even Quakers who had achieved wealth and worldly position in some measure shared his spiritual and social values, Woolman was outstanding for the emphasis he put on the social implications of Quakerism. When the philosophers of the European Enlightenment idealized the Pennsylvania Quakers for their humanitarianism, their condemnation of excessive riches and vanity, their pacifism, and their simple morality, they could have pointed to John Woolman as the outstanding model for their picture.

But Quakerism had no monopoly of Christian humanitarianism. The Puritan concern for the well-being of everyone in the group, particularly in matters of morals and faith, could be extended to humanitarian and charitable action, as the "friendly societies" of Cotton Mather proved. Franklin confessed that the *Essays to do Good* of this erudite divine inspired in him devotion to the ideals of neighborly cooperation, service, and humanitarianism. Moreover, the Puritan concern for the degraded was not limited to their own culture group. John Eliot, the Mayhews, and others tried, it will be recalled, to educate and uplift the Indian of New England; and Judge Samuel Sewall of Boston published in 1700 a tract, *The Selling of Joseph*, in which the slave trade and slavery itself were condemned as un-Christian. "There is no proportion," observed Sewall, "between Twenty Pieces of Silver and LIBERTY."

Such Christian sentiments were to develop, under proper social pressures, into wider protests against the status quo. And to the Quaker and Puritan appreciation of the hardships of the less fortunate must be added that of the Anglicans, whose missionary and educational efforts reached from New York to Georgia. Evangelistic preachers in the slave commu-

developed in a systematic way, and with much intellectual skill, the deterministic and mystical or emotional elements in the Puritan tradition.

Several factors explain the tendency to systematize the deterministic and mystical in the Calvinist New England tissue of thought. The evangelical emphasis on free will and grace demanded a counterdefense of election and predestination. The deistical implications of the rationalistic position of the liberals invited orthodox refutations. The rising tide of secularism could not go unchallenged. This had advanced so far that there was no longer a question of building God's kingdom, a Bible commonwealth, here and now; it was necessary to deal in terms of universals, to emphasize the relation of man's temporary sojourn in an evil world to the nature of evil, the essence of God, the eternal verities. To strengthen their position New England theologians of the conservative school reasserted in more systematic form the essentials of the Calvinistic position as it had been modified by the seventeenth-century Puritans. By tying together loosened knots and by straightening out snarls in the theological argument, they sought to give a renewed strength to the fabric of New England theology. At the same time its champions made certain compromises with the enemy. As yet they were reluctant to meet the rationalistic challenge of the Enlightenment—that was to be largely reserved for a later generation. But they did try to square somewhat the harshest and the most rigorous aspects of Calvinism with the new sentiments of humanity and reason. And the growing challenge of evangelicism, which conservatives had belittled and derided, they met by taking it to their own bosom. Jonathan Edwards, a leading evangelist and a great theologian, did far more than point the way to such a synthesis.

Although Edwards died in 1758, his influence persisted. Two of his works were published posthumously in 1788, and long after that his metaphysical and theological writings, especially his great *On the Freedom of the Will*, inspired many a student. What gives Edwards a highly significant place in the history of our thought is that he made many concessions to the newer currents challenging Calvinism, and yet in his final synthesis he subordinated all of these to an amazingly logical defense of the essentials of the Genevan master as they had been developed by subsequent Calvinists. To rationalism and even to materialism he made certain bows; Locke's theory of knowledge, with modifications, he partly, but only partly, incorporated. Accepting with unquestioning loyalty the truth and rationality of the Scriptures, Edwards like the

more than two decades of thinking and writing, Hopkins developed the New Divinity theology associated with his name. Hopkins attempted to hold to the essentials of Edwards' theology, but he slipped into compromise with the new ethic of worldly reform. For Edwards, God's plan for the world was an objective good, whether it made for human happiness or for worldly misery. To Hopkins, on the other hand, God's universe was a stage on which progress toward the greatest happiness of the whole was enacted. To this conception of the greatest happiness of the whole, Hopkins coupled the doctrine of general atonement, the idea that Christ died for everyone, for Negroes, Indians, and the disinherited generally, as well as for the godly and substantial classes. Hopkins' ideas of the happiness of the whole and general atonement led him to take an active missionary interest in the unfortunate, especially the slaves. He vigorously attacked slavery, in spite of the interest of Newport merchants in the slave trade.

Hopkins tried to maintain that his reformist attitude was consonant with Edwards' determinism by emphasizing that all benevolence must be completely disinterested. Edwards had asserted that all selfishness is sin. Hopkins, shifting the emphasis, insisted that all sin is selfishness. Any interest in the self, apart from the objective order of creation, is sinful. Thus the antidote to sin, the supreme human goal, is to become "disinterested" in the self, to become truly benevolent. Hopkins' New Divinity was an attempt to defend Calvinism by incorporating into it the elements of the more humane morality of the eighteenth century. But Hopkins, and Edwards' other followers, failed to achieve a compromise or a synthesis that would restore unity to the religious life of New England.

Thus the intellectual life of the colonists—their views of the universe, of human nature, and of esthetics, their social and political ideas—was shaped in large measure by Christian patterns of thought. The Great Awakening brought Christian doctrine and Christian experience to the great body of plain people, who in many instances had previously been affected by the Christian heritage in only a general way. Within the patterns of Christian thought, of course, still other intellectual values and perspectives found a place and formed a part of the intellectual legacy from the colonial age.

other land, for English-speaking peoples made up the dominant element in colonial society.

### **The Unique Legacy of the English-Speaking Colonial Americans**

The English-speaking colonists contributed, from their own heritage, all-important vehicles for the communication of knowledge, ideas, and attitudes. Modified though it was by accretions from other culture groups and by colonial conditions, the English language was yet the dominant one in the new nation—a fact of profound significance. It meant, among other things, that the Americans shared with Great Britain the ballads and the more formal literature of the motherland. But the literary legacy was greater than this, for it was through English and Scotch channels that the Graeco-Roman classics and the literature of the Renaissance were transmitted to the American people. The better-educated colonial Americans might and did read in the original the writings of the great French thinkers, but for the most part eighteenth-century Continental thought was introduced to the colonies through translations made in Great Britain and through British interpretations. The British newspaper, pamphlet, broadside, and magazine likewise provided colonial Americans with models. Colonial colleges were patterned after the British colleges, and the Latin grammar schools closely followed British prototypes. Even the dame schools and charity schools had their English precedents.

The Atlantic seaboard was a stage on which the bitter conflicts of the entire Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation were reenacted. The dominant religious patterns, however, came from Great Britain and Ireland. Catholicism, Anglicanism, Calvinism in its Congregational and Presbyterian forms, and Quakerism were all derived from Great Britain. British Independents, Baptists, and Quakers contributed to America their distinctive religious doctrines, including the significant idea of the separation of church and state. The ideas of religious toleration and freedom expounded in Great Britain by Quakers, by certain Puritan groups and individuals, and by the Cambridge Platonists and Latitudinarians provided the necessary seeds for the growth of these ideas in American soil, which proved to be even more fertile ground for them than that of the motherland.



cited British precedents and treatises in support of their contentions.

The full significance of the British heritage of ideas and patterns for the agencies of intellectual life will become more clear in subsequent discussions.

### The Culture of Non-English-Speaking Groups on the Atlantic Seaboard

The Dutch, Germans, Swedes, Welsh, and French Huguenots scattered along the Atlantic coast from New England to Georgia resembled the heirs of British culture in that they possessed much of the same knowledge, many common values, and a similar outlook on nature, man, and society. This similarity was related to the fact that the non-English-speaking groups, as well as the English, Scottish, and Scotch-Irish, were affected by certain great processes that were profoundly altering the civilization of all western Europe: the process of maritime expansion and colonization on the one hand, and the religious conflicts of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation on the other. Whatever the land of their origin, the lives of the migrants had been affected by economic and social changes incident to the expansion of trade, overseas activities, and internal readjustments, especially the dislocation of agriculture. In consequence of these social and economic changes and conditions in Europe, it was largely artisans, peasants, and small traders who left their homelands for America. With few exceptions, these peoples also subscribed to one or another form of Protestantism. These facts, together with the common life which they more or less shared in the New World, made it all the more natural for them, regardless of differences of speech, national culture, and creed, to think alike on many matters. At the same time, however, the Dutch, Swedes, Huguenots, Germans, and other peoples differed from one another and from their English-speaking neighbors in many respects and made each his own contribution.

The century between the British conquest of New Netherlands in 1664 and the outbreak of the American Revolution had been marked by the waning role of the Dutch element in New York. Certain ideas and customs prevalent during the Dutch rule, such as the use of judicial torture and easy divorce, had disappeared altogether. The beginnings of an indigenous literature had, except in the field of theology, been for-

provided another element in the intellectual heritage of the new nation, and their culture displayed more vitality than that of the Dutch. From the three counties in eastern Pennsylvania largely dominated by Germans, these people had spread into southern New York, into western Maryland and Virginia, and even into the Carolinas. German-speaking groups from the Rhineland and Switzerland had also settled in the Southern Colonies. Only recently, in fact, has the importance of the German contribution to the cultural life of the colonial South been fully appreciated.

Although the German groups included skilled artisans and even learned scholars, the peasant element predominated. In many respects the plain folk among the Germans resembled the untutored men and women in other cultural groups: they feared God, labored hard, cherished their families, resorted to weird remedies when ailing, and took but little interest in the affairs of the larger world. Yet the unusually thrifty, family-centered, pious, and industrious peasants and artisans of German stock possessed certain skills, values, and ideas that gave a singular flavor to their culture. Combining a love of beauty with utilitarianism, the German peasant and craftsman introduced the great medieval tradition of folk art; the sturdy barns with their decorative effects, the carefully designed and colorful household utensils and furniture, the fine-line drawings often found on baptismal and marriage certificates, rich in religious symbolism and folklore, added variety and picturesqueness to the intellectual and artistic heritage of the young American nation. The Pennsylvania Germans also cherished religious music. The 500-odd hymns composed at the Anabaptist community at Ephrata in Pennsylvania utilized every known measure and stanzaic form. These did not become the nucleus of a permanent and significant musical tradition, but the auspicious beginnings of music among the Moravians had a more permanent influence on the development of esthetic ideas and values. Outsiders frequently visited Bethlehem, the principal Moravian center, to hear original compositions in the Bach tradition and to become familiar with the scores of the great European composers.

In still other ways did the skills and values of the plain German folk exert an influence beyond their own communities. The peasant stock's superior knowledge of agriculture found expression both in practice and in discussions in eighteenth-century German newspapers and almanacs,

Other national groups in colonial America made some impact on intellectual life without exerting anything like the influence of the Germans. The Swedes on the Delaware, for example, wrote pioneer descriptions of the topography, flora, fauna, and meteorology of that region. They produced a philological treatise on the Lenape dialect in connection with their efforts to convert the tribe. In Gustav Hesselius the Swedes possessed an organ-builder and artist of distinction who became well known outside Swedish-American circles. Swedish parsons and Swedish religious literature were both imported from the motherland throughout the colonial period. Yet the Swedes were too few in number to resist cultural absorption.

Similarly the French Huguenots had largely been absorbed by their neighbors before the American Revolution. In South Carolina they had contributed to the knowledge of the culture of the grape, rice, indigo, and silk; and in Charleston, in New Rochelle near New York City, and in other centers they had established schools for young women, contributed to the graces of everyday life, and provided nuclei for the subsequent reception of French ideas and customs.

Collectively the large strains of non-English-speaking stocks exerted an imponderable but nonetheless real influence on the intellectual life of the colonial era. The non-English-speaking groups did not subscribe to the Anglican form of religion, and their opposition to the payment of taxes for its maintenance in certain of the colonies strengthened the growing movement for separation of church and state. The mere presence of so many non-British people likewise gave force to the idea that America was an asylum for the oppressed of all the world.

It was in laying a foundation stone for American nationality that the non-English-speaking groups along the Atlantic seaboard made one of their most significant contributions. In Europe new peoples or nationalities had arisen when one conquered and assimilated or was assimilated by another. But in colonial America a distinctive people emerged partly because of a naturalization policy more liberal than that in Europe and partly because the mutual aloofness of the British and non-British cultural groups gradually decreased and gave way to intimate daily association and intermarriage. The fusion of many peoples into a distinctive one was evident in the modification of the English language by the accretion of words from the Dutch, German, and French. And having no British ties and feeling little or no intellectual subserviency to England, these non-British stocks helped pave the way for, and gave reality

with their motherland than did the non-English-speaking groups with theirs, explains in large part the more influential role of the British-derived heritage of ideas and cultural agencies.

### Legacies of the French and Spanish Borderlands

The American stage received its actors from different Old World backgrounds, but these backgrounds were not unrelated; the French and Spanish on the borderlands in America were basically related to the English, Swedish, Dutch, and German colonists on the Atlantic seaboard by virtue of their common venture in overseas enterprise, economic and religious. That is to say, the French and Spanish in the interior and on the southern and western rims of the present domain of the United States shared with the Europeans on the eastern coast the cultural dynamics of European maritime expansion and the conflicting forces of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The differences between the cultural patterns of the Protestant colonists from Great Britain, Sweden, Holland, and Germany and those of the Catholic French and Spanish in the borderlands should not obscure the common tie between them.

Thus it was natural that the thought and feeling of the Atlantic seaboard colonists should have been affected by the presence of the Catholic Spaniards in Florida and of the Catholic French in the trans-Appalachian hinterland. It is true that the Atlantic coast peoples gained little or no actual knowledge from the French and Spanish colonists. But the Latin outskirts of their world were a part of their own setting and inevitably affected their thinking. For one thing New France and New Spain aroused the hostility of those engaged in building a civilization on the Atlantic coast not only because they were Catholic but also because they were the seat of activities that threatened the fur-trading and agricultural ambitions of the seaboard colonists. Moreover, the Dutch and British colonists further inherited the deeply rooted hostility of their homelands to Spaniards and French. With such ideas and interests the seaboard colonists entered into the wars waged by Great Britain against the Spanish and French, and even toyed with the plan of an intercolonial union, the better to defend themselves or even to conquer their economic, political, and religious foes. Thus the pres-

numbered only 669 souls, fifty-six heads of families owned books—a total of 1350 volumes. Among them was a good representation of standard French works on engineering, medicine, science, and the classics. What is more surprising, several of the well-to-do merchants owned the writings of the great exponents of the Enlightenment. The library of Auguste Chouteau of St. Louis, for example, included the works of Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Beccaria, Locke, Descartes, Buffon, Montesquieu, and the Abbé Raynal. Dr. Antoine François Saugrain, pioneer in the use of smallpox vaccine in the western country, owned copies of Goethe's works, the writings of Moliere and Beaumarchais, and a number of books on medicine. As late as 1818 a Protestant missionary in Missouri complained that every Frenchman "of any intelligence and importance" with whom he formed an acquaintance was of the school of French Liberalists—"an infidel to Bible Christianity."<sup>2</sup> However true this may have been of the upper group, the rank and file of small merchants, fur trappers, and *habitants* clung to the Catholic faith. Nor did much learning grace this picturesque folk; in 1796 two-thirds of the population of Vincennes did not even know how to read.

New Orleans and, to a much smaller extent, Mobile were the only French centers destined to exert an important and persistent influence on the life and thought of the nation of which they were ultimately to become a part. In 1766, when the Spanish took over New Orleans, it was a village of little more than three thousand people, a third of whom were slaves. Yet its impressive ecclesiastical and public architecture displayed civic and esthetic values. The Jesuits and Ursulines had made it possible for many youth to obtain an elementary Catholic education. There is, indeed, some evidence that by the end of the century the writings of the French *philosophes* were known in New Orleans. The urbane social amenities and gaiety of the substantial citizens did not, however, encourage serious intellectual endeavors. Apart from a few official reports and memoirs, the only literary production of any note seems to have been an epic poem written by a wealthy planter in 1779.

Yet Louisiana transmitted a definite intellectual legacy to the nation that purchased it in 1803. The *Siete Partidas*, an amalgamation of Roman-French-Spanish law, continued to influence Louisiana law. Creoles clung to the French language and customs and even maintained

<sup>2</sup> Rufus Babcock (ed.), *Memoir of John Mason Peck, D.D.* (Philadelphia, 1864), 87.

and clerical, took root to provide lasting foundations of Spanish culture. The Pueblo Indians, differing as they did in their culture from the aborigines of Texas and California, accepted and retained Catholicism, which they blended with their own religious rites and doctrines. The mixture of Spanish and Indian blood in the mesas, canyons, and deserts of New Mexico and Arizona provided another basis for the permanent survival of Spanish Catholic culture. Indeed, Santa Fé, with its garrison, trading post, churches, and convents, reproduced on a small scale some of the glories of the Spanish-American culture of Mexico City.

Although the efforts of the Jesuits and Franciscans in the Southwest nowhere fully achieved their dream of narrowing the gulf between the Spaniard and the native, the missionaries did carry their own learning into the Southwest and in the course of their labors made significant contributions to knowledge. To the chain of sturdy and beautiful mission structures that stretched from the Rio Grande to San Francisco Bay, Junipero Serra, Father Kino, and other friars brought theological and devotional volumes of intellectual and artistic merit. In quest of souls, the Franciscans and Jesuits did not come as scientists, ethnologists, historians, geographers, and teachers, although they were to some extent all of these. Their reports to their superiors, sometimes made available to a larger public, contained valuable maps and descriptions of the physical environment and of the languages and cultures of the Indians themselves. In the Arizona country the Jesuit missionary Father Kino, after formulating necessary vocabularies, translated catechism and prayers into native tongues. His *Historical Memoirs of Pimeria Alta* describes with accuracy and insight the customs, character, and topography of the regions visited by this tireless and devoted missionary. For a century and a half Father Kino's map, which discredited the prevailing theory that California was an island, was the principal map of the Arizona-California country. Between the years 1745 and 1763 three Franciscan fathers in the Texas missions wrote books on missionary methods and on the philology and character of the native peoples.

The Spanish missionary era came to an end in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but its influence survived among the Spanish-speaking Californians and New Mexicans, and to a lesser extent among the Pueblo Indians. At length English-speaking America, after its conquest of these regions in the middle of the nineteenth century, was to discover the survivals of architecture, the crude but fascinating and often

petitive spirit in agriculture as in other forms of economic enterprise. By and large the whites understood little of Indian nature worship, of the poetical Indian love of the land as it was rather than as it might become under cultivation, or of the Indian fondness for symbolizing memorable communal experiences in rituals and ceremonials. Neither did the whites fully understand the Indian concept of passive submission to an irresistible fate, or the curiously dual behavior of the red man when he was with his own kind and when he was with the whites. The stoicism, the sober gloom, and the dignity attributed by the whites to the Indian did not always correspond to his actual behavior when he was with Indians.

These misconceptions tended to be corrected as traders and missionaries among the Dutch, German Moravians, and English made contacts with the Indians. From the material culture of the red men the whites learned lessons in forest lore, in agriculture, and in medicine; they also learned the advantages in forest fighting of the open or deployed order under protection of ambushes—a tactic that contrasted with the close order of the Europeans. Forest diplomacy likewise occasioned the Indian treaty, a new literary form born of the contacts of the two races. Some fifty of these treaties found their way into print. Constance Rourke has emphasized the highly dramatic character of this form of “practical letters,” and has called attention to the rich episodes, the bold portraiture, the sly humor, the high quality of poetry, and the epic proportions of these treaties, the prototypes of the later stage plays of Indian life.

The interplay of action between the whites and Indians required explanations and vindications of the white men’s behavior and of the Indian responses to that behavior. Being unable to enslave the Indian, the whites worked out a theory of the red men as quasi-sovereign peoples to be won as allies in the contests with French and Spanish rivals. When the Indians blocked the agricultural advance of the white frontier they were killed or pushed farther into the hinterland or confined to reservations. It was this process that set the major intellectual problems for the whites in their relations with the Indians.

The practical nature of the problems posed did not prevent the whites from cloaking their ideas about the Indians in religious terms, for the age was an intensely religious one and religious assumptions underlay much of its thinking. It was incumbent on the whites, in the first instance, to explain in terms of Genesis and Exodus the existence of the

the Indian as an inferior species to be forced onto a reservation or pushed farther into the wilderness when the land hunger of the whites pressed too heavily on his preserves.

Such rationalizations of white superiority were of course a far cry from the picture of the Noble Savage that had gradually emerged in the drawing rooms of European philosophers and poets for whom, at a safe distance, the savage Indian possessed great romantic charm. Educated eighteenth-century Americans gradually became familiar with the romanticized conception of the Indian as a stoical, dignified, unspoiled child of nature, or with the rationalistic idea that he was an innately good creature, conditioned by his peculiar environment and susceptible of quickly taking on the white man's virtues.

The African cultural pattern, like that of the Indian, stood out in stark contrast to those derived from western Europe. But by reason of their intimate association with the whites the Africans were to influence American intellectual life to a greater extent than the Indians. This was true in spite of the fact that the Negro was a minority element in the seventeenth century and that, even at the end of the colonial period, it was only in the Southern Colonies that he made up a considerable part of the population. There was also the consideration that African culture did not come to America intact. Carried to the Atlantic seaboard against their will, thrown abruptly into an utterly unfamiliar way of life, and held to an abject status, the Negroes retained only portions of their primitive African culture.

It is no easy task to estimate even roughly the extent to which African culture survived among the Negroes and directly influenced the whites. Some anthropologists hold that the Negro retained large portions of his African culture and that these had great power of survival. There can be little doubt that the culture which the African did bring with him affected his selection of certain elements in the white culture; yet it seems to be stretching a point to assume, as one authority has, that the Negro fondness for the Baptist faith resulted from the presence among the slaves of many priests of the African river-cults. But in any case, the African-born Negroes did not entirely abandon all their religious rites. It may be that in some instances these reinforced comparable culture traits among the whites; the Reverend Samuel Parris, whose credulous view of the testimony of the bewitched was heightened when members of his family became afflicted during the Salem outbreak, may have been



enacted in 1740 forbidding whites to instruct Negroes in reading and writing. Yet in the course of time, and especially as a result of the religious revivals of the eighteenth century, increasing numbers of Negroes were gathered to the fold. With its emphasis on humility, equality before God, and salvation in the future world, Christian faith made more and more appeal to the slaves, who tended, in some cases against the wishes of their masters, to make the Christian religion their own.

Instruction in reading for Christian uplift gave some Negroes a considerable body of the white man's knowledge. Advertisements for the sale of Negroes or for the return of fugitives included such informative statements as "he can read print," "can write a pretty good hand and has probably forged a pass," "could read, write, and speak both French and Spanish pretty well," and "has some knowledge of medicine." Exceptional members of the race achieved distinction in the white man's realm of the mind. The poems of Phyllis Wheatley (1773) and of Jupiter Hammon (1761) may be cited for their feeling and versification, and the almanacs of Benjamin Banneker for the mathematical skill they displayed. Before the end of the colonial period at least a few Negroes were sufficiently well trained, or on the way to becoming sufficiently well trained, to instruct the sons of the white gentry in the higher as well as in the elementary branches of knowledge. The mass of the black race, however, remained largely ignorant of the intellectual arts of the whites.

While the Negroes were slowly becoming familiar with some of the white man's ideas and even his intellectual skills, the whites were being influenced by the Negroes. In areas where their numbers were considerable, the Africans influenced the folklore, idiom, pronunciation, and food habits, and possibly the music and dance, of the whites.

The indirect influence of the Negro on American intellectual life was an even greater factor in the colonial legacy to the new nation than any direct influence. In the South the presence of a host of abjectly ignorant slaves deepened the traditional Old World gulf between the classes who shared the great body of humane and scientific knowledge and the masses whose world of thought and feeling was governed largely by lore and superstition. In creating the problem of slavery and a related race issue, the presence of the Negro bequeathed a stubborn legacy to the new nation. The slave system gave rise in the South to a greater emphasis on the idea of social class than would otherwise have been the case. The concept of the dignity of manual labor, which was to become a char-

# 3 The Old World Heritage Modified

January 27, 1711 I rose at 5 o'clock and read two chapters in Hebrew and some Greek in Lucian. I said my prayers and ate boiled milk for breakfast. I danced my dance. It rained all night but held up about 8 o'clock this morning. My sick people were all better, thank God Almighty. I settled several accounts; then I read some English which gave me great light into the nature of spirit. I ordered Tom to plant some (l-c-s) seed. I ate goose giblets for dinner. In the afternoon my wife and I took a little walk and then danced together. Then I read some more English. At night I read some Italian and then played at piquet with my wife. . . . I said my prayers and had good health, good thoughts, and good humor; thank God Almighty.

—The Secret Diary of  
William Byrd of Westover, 1711

Intellectual life in colonial America was much like that of the Old World from which in so large a measure it was derived; on both sides of the Atlantic there were always the fundamental postulates and categories

great distances, the scarcity of population, and the primacy of economic tasks in a new country made it impossible to reproduce in totality the specialized intellectual functions of a mature society. Even if Latin grammar schools, colleges resting on medieval foundations, and richly endowed libraries had been immediately needed and pressingly demanded in the relatively simple colonial societies they simply could not have been maintained as in the Old World. Nor, even had there been the desire, could literary and scientific patronage in all its fullness, or the Inns of Court, or the scientific institutions of Holland and Germany have been duplicated. In time various agencies of intellectual life did indeed develop according to Old World patterns; but the colonists in adjusting themselves to the new conditions of colonial life modified these institutions in more than one respect.

The colonies not only differed from Europe in physical environment and social conditions, they differed from one another; and each colony was further divided into regions, some of which had much in common with similar regions in neighboring provinces. The differences between the settled districts along the seacoast and the less populated inland or frontier country were no less striking. He who swung an axe in the back country had a different outlook from the merchant, the artisan, or the planter in the coastal regions. The varied economies that developed as a result of differences in soil, climate, and natural resources in New England, the Middle Colonies, the Southern Colonies, and the back country in all these sections affected the number and character of schools, libraries, colleges, newspapers, and indirectly the more basic attitudes toward nature and society.

The complex economy of New England, for example, encouraged the growth of compact communities which, in contrast to the far-flung isolated homesteads in the South, could maintain schools fairly easily and could foster training useful to the town-meeting type of local government and to rising commercial pursuits. The bountiful provisions of nature in the South, so different from the sparse endowment of New England, encouraged the Southerners to concentrate on agriculture—a fact that profoundly affected intellectual life. The Southerner, too, was less careful in his attitude toward the exploitation of the soil than the New Englander, and more inclined to develop out-of-doors recreational habits. Economic conditions springing out of the physical environment made large slaveholding unprofitable in the northern colonies and ma-

mated the Renaissance ideal of versatility; it included a general rather than a specialized knowledge of the Greek and Roman classics, an acquaintance with French and with the great writers in the English tongue, and some familiarity with the Bible and Christian doctrine, history, philosophy, law and political thought and practice, medicine, music, architecture, painting, and natural science. In order to introduce their sons to this culture Virginia gentlemen customarily employed tutors—sometimes educated young men who came to America as indentured servants or as employees, sometimes neighboring parsons. The tutor prepared the young Virginian for college by grounding him in Lilly's *Latin Grammar*, the *English Rudiments*, *Goldmine on the French Tongue*, Hodder's *Arithmetic*, and *Euclid*. In the natural course of things sons were sent either to one of the colonial colleges or to the great public schools and universities of the mother country or, in the case of the Catholic planters of Maryland, to a Jesuit college in France. The daughters of these country families often learned their French and occasionally other subjects from family tutors; from their mothers they acquired the finish and social graces appropriate to ladies. The planters themselves possessed the means, leisure, and inclination to buy and read newspapers, magazines, and books, to travel to the provincial capital on matters of business and politics, and there to attend concerts and dramatic pieces and to exchange talk with college professors, clergymen, and officials who had recently been in London or at Cambridge, Oxford, or Edinburgh. At the provincial capital the planter also displayed his remarkable knowledge of political theory and practice, the one field of knowledge in which the professional rather than the amateur standard was acceptable.

The versatile intellectual equipment of a gentleman planter not only was a badge of social status but was designed to be useful in the practical concerns of everyday life. The Virginia planter, like his Elizabethan forebear and his New England contemporary, did much "purposeful" reading; even the books on religion and piety which the planters read in greater measure than is commonly supposed were presumably useful preparations for leading a good life and for the next world. The classics themselves were considered useful in providing lessons of patriotism and statesmanship, models of pure taste in writing, and personal solace and inspiration. The Virginia planter also acquainted himself with Blackstone, Coke, the Virginia statutes, and *A Perfect Guide for Studious Young Lawyers*, the more effectively to adjudicate local disputes involv-

printed page. For this there were several reasons. The code of the gentleman, emphasizing as it did versatile accomplishments rather than a specialized knowledge, partly explains why contributions to the transactions of scientific societies were the exception rather than the rule. Partly it was due to the necessity planters felt for expressing their intellectual skill in the practice of politics, amateur medicine and law, architecture and landscape gardening, and partly to the lack of publishing facilities and of close contacts in a rural society.

Yet as letters, diaries, and other unpublished materials testify, many planters had literary gifts. William Byrd's diaries, penned in shorthand, reveal versatile and ingenious qualities of mind, pungent wit and keen insight, that were probably not untypical of his class. His *History of the Dividing Line*, which circulated in manuscript form in England, reflects not only the elegant style of the eighteenth century but an earthy humor and a sophisticated urbanity. The qualities of mind of which William Byrd was so excellent a representative became part of the legacy which the ruling class of the plantation South bestowed upon the intellectual life of the new nation.

At the end of the colonial period the values and intellectual interests of the planting gentry closely resembled those of the English country gentleman. But colonial conditions had in some respects modified the heritage. In the first place, it was easier in Virginia, as it was in Maryland and the Carolinas, for self-made men to enter the ranks of the country gentry because land was so much more abundant and accessible than in England. Granted that pride of family became a pronounced trait in the psychology of the rural gentry, the planting aristocracy was by no means a closed caste. The values and attitudes of the colonial planter were more practical than those of many of his English forebears and contemporaries. Having to attend to the direct export of his produce and to the import of his luxuries, he disparaged commerce and trade less than did the English country gentry; indeed, planters seldom objected to having their sons become merchants. Furthermore, the colonial planter could succeed only through shrewdness and careful attention to the practical and business details of a great plantation; in this respect his perspectives and values differed in some measure from those of his English model.

Planters were aware that special efforts needed to be made in a rural, isolated, and provincial society if the younger generation was not to be-

were meager; the evidence is fairly clear that many drank to excess and even had criminal records. Although in some instances an indentured teacher might enjoy the respect of his master and the community, for the most part these men were treated as servants. Thus the scarcity of schools for the sons of the planters introduced a factor in the intellectual life of rural American communities less frequently found in the English countryside—the educated or semi-educated servant or near-servant.

The great body of farmers throughout the colonies did not, of course, possess either the leisure or the economic means to develop their minds in the degree and manner possible among substantial planters. The grim tasks of everyday existence absorbed most of their mental and physical energy. Nor did they have either the time or the money to buy many books or to make prolonged visits in the towns and cities. Yet from the very experiences that tied them to their farms they and their children learned much about the seasons and elements, about animals, plants, and trees. They learned the skills associated with husbandry and the household arts. This knowledge was related to their main concern in a way which that acquired from books could not have been.

Handicapped though small farmers were in matters of book learning, they were not entirely cut off from the world of ideas expressed in the printed page. As boys most of them had learned to read and write, meager though school opportunities were in rural America, especially in the Middle and Southern Colonies. Even in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware the churches maintained some schools in rural districts; and in the Southern Colonies these were supplemented by "old field" schools supported by neighboring farm families. Toward the end of the colonial period these slender facilities in the Middle and Southern Colonies were enlarged by the rise of "log colleges." Founded by Calvinist clergymen, these institutions made it possible for the sons of ordinary farmers to acquire some part of the classical education regarded as necessary for the ministry. In New England the sons of plain farmers mastered the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic during short winter terms at the district schools sustained by the community. Boys too frail to endure the rigors of farm life or gifted with intellectual talents often managed to prepare for college in the home of the village parson or to attend a Latin grammar school in a neighboring town. Farm girls everywhere generally fared less well in schooling than boys, but it was often customary, especially in New England and in the church

In the almanacs there was much sprightly and homely wisdom; and from these proverbial expressions it is possible to guess at the social attitudes and general values that farmers held or that the editors of these pamphlets desired them to hold. In accordance with the needs of colonial life the farmer was advised to be enterprising, painstaking, frugal, and industrious. *An idle man is a Burden to himself, to his Family, and to the Publick. . . . God gives all things to Industry. . . . A fat Kitchen makes a lean Will. . . . Industry and frugality make a Poor Man Rich. . . .*

Numberless maxims made virtues of self-help and self-reliance: *If you would thrive, first contrive & then Strive. . . . Many complain of bad Times, but take no care to become better themselves. . . . Adversity makes a Man Wise. . . .*

Contentment with one's lot found frequent expression: *Let the Poor be Content with their present Lot, for when they come to make Brick without Straw, their case will be yet Worse. . . . Pain's our Inheritance; Pleasure is lent to Man upon Hard Usury. . . . All men are by nature equal, But differ greatly in the sequel. . . . 'Tis as truly Folly for the Poor to ape the Rich, as for the Frog to swell, in order to equal the Ox.* But the advice to accept one's fate was tempered with the admonition to acquire what one could: *Get what you can, and what you get hold; 'Tis the Stone that will turn all your Lead into Gold.* Besides such maxims the folk wisdom of the almanacs included among the roster of virtues obedience to parents and a proper neighborly cooperation in practical matters.

Because the farmers read little and wrote less, it is difficult even with the aid of the almanacs to reconstruct their social attitudes and intellectual presuppositions. A study of the ballads and folk songs that farm people sang throws some light on their sentiments and ideas. While it is true that indentured servants and even slaves sang these songs, they belonged in a peculiar sense to the yeomanry or small freeholders.

The ballads and folk songs that the colonists brought with them from England, Ireland, Scotland, and other countries became subject to the changes of oral transmission and to the impact of new experiences. Innumerable variants of such famous Scotch and English ballads as "The Maid Freed from the Gallows" and "Lord Randall" reflect rural crimes and sensations. But since there are no written versions of these ballads and folk songs as they were sung in the colonial period it is not possible to say with certainty to what extent and in just what respects they were modified. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that some of the modifi-

best that sparsely settled areas of the newly laid-out township could maintain. Beyond the thin line of settled communities the frontier diluted such intellectual culture as the farmer and his family possessed. The hunters, trappers, adventurers, and first wave of pioneer farmers seldom had either the opportunity or the need to indulge in what commonly passes for the life of the mind. Churches and schools, the two chief agencies of intellectual life in the more settled rural areas, were at first nonexistent in the remote hinterlands. Communication was so inadequate that broadsides, newspapers, almanacs, and the Bible itself could be obtained only by chance. In any case conditions of life on the farthestmost frontier were such that these agencies of intellectual life were of little use in the immediate tasks at hand.

Yet even life on the frontier was not one of entire mental and emotional torpor. We may be almost certain that Scotch and English ballads were sung and adapted to new experiences and needs in the wilderness. And a new kind of education was achieved in the very struggle with the primitive forces of nature, which often sharpened practical inventiveness and promoted self-sufficiency, versatility, and independence of mind. Nor should the educational value of exploring new terrains, new phenomena in nature, and new tribes of aborigines be forgotten in any effort to balance the intellectual gains and losses incidental to pushing back the frontier.

The most significant idea that both ordinary country people and frontiersmen possessed was that of the value and dignity of their way of life. Toil on the farm was hard, but the American farmer was not a peasant. He had come to regard the cultivation of the soil not only as a dignified calling but as the most important element in the economy. He did not need to have the Physiocrats tell him that. The farmer and even the frontiersman in the wilderness had also come to realize that, to protect or advance his interests, he must participate to some extent in public life. He bequeathed a legacy of individualism and of democratic inclinations—these constituted his chief intellectual gift to the new republic.

### Colonial Towns as Intellectual Centers

Wherever towns sprang up and flourished, intellectual life differed markedly from that in rural areas. When measured on the same cultural



villages, were frequented by the more consequential Maryland and Virginia planters who enjoyed the social life as well as the advantages offered by the theater and concerts, and, in the case of Virginia's capital, the College of William and Mary. Although Williamsburg and in greater measure Charleston shared the characteristics of northern towns, urban life developed chiefly in the colonies north of the Potomac. Thus the rise of towns still further differentiated the northern from the southern provinces, intellectually as well as economically and socially.

The towns were the chief centers of intellectual activity because they enjoyed closer relations with Europe and because they offered great opportunities for social contacts and the discussion of events and ideas. They also contained the great majority of the men for whom professional and intellectual interests were the main concern. It was in the larger towns that printers published the greatest number of the broadsides, almanacs, newspapers, sermons, and books that appeared with increasing frequency in each successive decade of the eighteenth century. It was also there that the chief collections of books were to be found, if the great libraries on a relatively small number of plantations and estates be excepted. The towns, too, were for the most part seats of the provincial colleges, whose faculties took a leading part in the intellectual activities. The cities also attracted the most distinguished figures in law, in medicine, and, with notable exceptions, in theology, and they were the homes of the official and merchant classes, whose role in the development of intellectual life was considerable.

### **Intellectual Interests of the Official and Merchant Classes**

The intellectual and cultural life of the capital towns occasionally profited from the presence of royal governors or proprietors' agents interested in learning and culture. These men were often the product of the English universities and the Inns of Court. Many of them stimulated interest in schools and colleges and even contributed to educational institutions from their own funds. Thus Governor Nicholson gave valuable support to William and Mary and to other institutions; Gabriel Johnston of North Carolina encouraged the establishment of a printing press and of schools; and James Hamilton of Pennsylvania took an active interest in the College of Philadelphia and became the patron of Benjamin

subjects. It was desirable to have some knowledge of navigation, geography, and current economic conditions in the larger world as well as in the colonies themselves. Merchants had to be familiar with the law, modern languages, accounting, and mathematics. Their sons, when they did not go abroad for cultural or professional training, often studied at the colonial colleges. Partly in response to the needs of this group, some of the newer colleges established in the eighteenth century broadened the traditionally classical and theologically weighted curriculum by offering more work in the modern languages and sciences which were useful to the nonclerical professions and in the training of leaders in civil life.

The merchant class thus influenced intellectual life by emphasizing the knowledge useful for their business interests and for the maintenance of their social status. Its members encouraged the provincial colleges by making gifts of scientific apparatus, and, occasionally, funds. Sometimes they contributed to well-planned astronomical observations and other scientific investigations. Along with professional men and a few planters, merchants participated in the activities of the "academy" established by Franklin in 1744 and reorganized 25 years later as the American Philosophical Society. They also had the means to attend the theater which, especially after the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, in some cities presented the plays of the classical English dramatists including Shakespeare, Congreve, Steele, Addison, and Goldsmith. Well-to-do merchants and their ladies had their portraits painted while on visits to England; others patronized such local portrait painters as Robert Feke of Newport and a half dozen others. A Philadelphia merchant, William Allen, made it possible for young Benjamin West to study in Italy; John Singleton Copley's portraits of the merchants of Boston and other cities bear witness to their patronage of this subsequently distinguished artist. Silversmiths, pewterers, glassmakers, and engravers likewise drew support from the merchant aristocracy whose mansions they embellished with their handicraft, much of which was of high merit.

The support given by merchants to printers and bookdealers was an even more notable contribution to intellectual life. A few merchants collected rare and costly books on a wide variety of subjects for their private libraries. The library assembled at Newport by the prosperous merchant Abraham Redwood was rich in the classics, theology, philosophy, and science. The library, like that of James Logan, Penn's representative in Philadelphia, was made accessible to a limited number of

phia and Christopher Colles of New York gave in their own and in other cities.

The lower social orders did not enjoy equal opportunities with those above them in the matter of libraries, but they did have certain facilities for obtaining and reading books. The intellectually ambitious artisan or tradesman might occasionally profit from the goodly supply of standard authors in proprietary libraries by virtue of the custom enabling impecunious aspirants to become members through payment of the stipulated fees in kind. Until the Town House in Boston burned in 1747, its reading room, well stocked with theological tomes, could be consulted. In the decades preceding the Revolution private circulating libraries, such as that of John Mein the Boston bookseller, were open to anyone able to pay the required fee—one pound eight shillings in the case of Mein's establishment. Most mechanics and artisans probably found this too steep, but they could and did follow the example of Benjamin Franklin, who organized his fellow tradesmen and artisans in Philadelphia into mutual improvement societies in which practical and philosophical questions were debated and collections of books acquired. The intellectually curious or ambitious artisan found in these libraries ample opportunities for pursuing a wide variety of literary and scientific interests.

The mechanic or artisan or tradesman often profited from the increasing number of newspapers that were launched to meet the needs of merchants for more frequent and systematic reports; twenty-two papers were established between 1713 and 1745. Enterprising lads from the mechanic class sometimes enjoyed remarkable educational opportunities as printers' devils and journeymen in publishing shops. The papers were fairly expensive, but they could be perused at the neighboring taverns. In these journals the man of humble station might read shipping news, stories of crime and accidents, poems, moral advice, essays, and bits of curious and useful information. More important, the papers carried political letters on current issues in the colonies and in the mother country. The newspaper reader was, in fact, profiting from the growing freedom of the press, a freedom of significance to the more humble classes in their tussles with the privileged groups. If a plain citizen were sufficiently ambitious and gifted he might even find in these papers a vehicle for his own thoughts, since the newspaper, by printing contributors' letters, became a sort of public forum. A milestone on the road to free political discussion was passed in 1735 when John Peter Zenger,

cleavage in the intellectual life of townspeople was already raising problems bound to become important with the gradual democratization of life.

If the lower classes disliked the cultured aristocracy it is clear that the educated rich in turn looked down on the "lesser folk," who appeared to them incapable of light and culture. The indifference of the "riffraff" to the learned sermons of the clergy and their hearty response to the emotional appeals of the revivalists during the Great Awakening of the 1740s was, in the eyes of the elite, only one proof of the intellectual shortcomings of the masses. Their "foolish," convivial, gay street songs, adaptations no doubt of current London music hall ditties, also betokened in the minds of cultured and pious leaders a lack of taste and propriety.

On the eve of the Revolution the seventeenth-century sumptuary legislation was largely a memory. But the established classes had by no means abandoned all types of social control. The criminal code was harsh. The church and the schools, as upholders of law and order, made use of broadsides to promote obedience, respect for authority and rank, and upright living. Descriptions of earthquakes were accompanied by solemn warnings sometimes directed specifically to the lowly wicked to repent lest similar visitations of God's wrath utterly destroy them. The execution of criminals charged with offenses against society was similarly made the occasion for hortatory warnings frequently put into the alleged "last confession" of the culprit:

Let servants all in their own Place  
The masters serve with Faith.  
Lest God should leave them to themselves  
As these poor Creatures were.

Shun vain and idle Company;  
They'll lead you soon astray;  
From ill-famed Houses ever flee,  
And keep yourselves away.  
With honest Labor earn your Bread,  
While in your youthful Prime;  
Nor come you near the Harlot's Bed;  
Nor idly waste your Time.

The gulf between the intellectual and cultural attitudes of the lowest and highest ranks was wide, but some hoped that a bridge might be

At the same time the growth of a newspaper press with the increase of population and of commerce facilitated the development of intercolonial self-consciousness. Journalists and printers traveled from colony to colony; even if a newspaper found few readers outside a given community, the events and opinions expressed in any one were frequently copied in others. In somewhat the same way the emergence of colonial magazines was a symptom of a growing self-consciousness.

The lower schools were still too decentralized and autonomous to provide any great stimulus to an intercolonial consciousness, but the colleges promoted that end. Students from one province sometimes studied at the learned institutions of another, and scholars interested in a particular field naturally corresponded with and visited colleagues elsewhere with similar interests.

During the eighteenth century a group consciousness developed not only among college students and scholars but also among physicians, lawyers, clergymen, and Masonic Lodge men. These personal as well as business and professional intercolonial contacts furthered the idea that the colonies should develop a culture different from that of the mother country. With the rise of intercolonial political problems, especially those of defense against the French, the idea of union found expression. As early as 1722 Daniel Coxe, a wealthy and influential resident of New Jersey, anticipated Franklin's famous plan and plea for a union of the colonies.

One mark of this emerging provincial culture was an increasing concern with the colonial past. This was evidenced in part in the efforts of Franklin to purchase Americana in London for the Philadelphia Library Society, and of the Reverend Thomas Prince of Boston to collect the records of New England's past. The development of historical interest in America's past was also expressed in the gradual growth of American historiography. Whereas many histories had been written, like Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), to glorify God and to demonstrate His particular concern with America and its people, the historical writing in the two or three decades preceding the Revolution was noteworthy for its secular outlook on the colonial past. The Reverend Thomas Prince wrote with surprisingly little of the didacticism that was prevalent in the eighteenth century; and the histories by the Reverend William Stith of Virginia and by Governor Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts showed pride in the colonial past without sacrificing the

## 4 \*\*\*\*\* Diffusion of the Arts and Sciences \*\*\*\*\*

*All intended for divinity should be taught Latin and Greek; for physic the Latin, Greek and French; for law the Latin and French; merchants, the French, German and Spanish; and though all should not be compelled to learn Latin, Greek, or the modern foreign languages, yet none that have an ardent desire to learn them should be refused.*

12254  
—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, 1749

*Hypotheses may be of use to put us upon further enquiry, and a more critical examination, but are never to be received, any further than they are supported by proper evidence.*

—SAMUEL WILLIAMS, 1785

Physical distance did not break the intellectual ties between the New World and the Old. The American colonists brought with them from Europe a vast store of polite learning and a rapidly developing body of scientific knowledge. Throughout the colonial period Americans worked to preserve this inheritance. The practical demands of life in America and the separation from European centers of learning made it extremely difficult for any thinker to do more than merely transmit literature and science. But in spite of adverse conditions, a number of Americans did make original contributions to the development of their intellectual

Renaissance ideal that associated gentility with classical learning. Yet the classics were never regarded merely as a superficial badge of the gentleman. The ancient languages, valued as the repositories of a timeless wisdom and truth, had trained great leaders in the past, and it was assumed that they still had the power to do so in a later day. More than that, the cultured class believed that the truth and wisdom in classical literature were bound to solace the human spirit.

The merchant or planter who regarded himself and was regarded by others as a gentleman thus possessed a knowledge of the classics and saw to it that his sons learned their Latin and Greek at an early age. However much he was occupied with interests allied to his business or occupation, he was likely to maintain a genuine interest in the classics. It is probably true that many a planter who as a lad had learned his Latin and Greek from a family tutor or from the neighboring parson failed to make much personal use of the beautifully bound classical tomes in his library. But classical knowledge was by no means rare among planters, even if most of them were less assiduous in reading the classics than the second William Byrd, whose library included 394 volumes of the ancient classics. In polite conversation in the drawing room, in private letters, and in political orations classical allusions were frequent. Nor was it deemed odd when Richard Lee of Virginia had inscribed in Latin on his tombstone the words: "He was very skillful in the Greek and Latin languages. . . ."

Local parsons and private tutors in the homes of the well-to-do aided in transmitting classical learning to succeeding generations of favored youth, but the task was largely shouldered by the schools and colleges. Thanks to the Puritan zeal for learning and the fact that New England settlement followed the township organization of closely settled communities, Latin grammar schools were established by legislation and in part supported from the public funds of the towns themselves. Thus almost from the start New England had more schools in which a classical training might be obtained than did the planting colonies that boasted a mere handful of preparatory schools endowed by private philanthropy. In the eighteenth century, when well-trained Presbyterian clergymen from Scotland and Ireland settled in the Southern and Middle Colonies, these regions came to enjoy much better opportunities for the pursuit of classical scholarship.

Since the colonial colleges, in the manner of the English and Scotch

It is true that the eighteenth century also saw a tendency to give somewhat less emphasis to the classics in the curriculum of both secondary schools and institutions of higher learning. Many of the disciples of the Enlightenment desired to have them largely replaced by modern languages and the natural and social sciences. Yet in spite of this, and notwithstanding the impatience of many in the rising middle class with the emphasis on the classics in the secondary schools, Latin and Greek maintained their dominant position. Franklin, himself the leading spirit in the movement to give the utilitarian studies a larger place in the Academy of Philadelphia, observed in 1773 that "it has been of late too much the mode to slight the learning of the ancients." Nor did the academies that began to replace or supplement the Latin grammar schools in the late colonial era subordinate Latin and Greek to non-classical studies. On the eve of the Revolution a group of tutors and undergraduates at Yale demanded that more attention be given to English letters, but the classics continued to dominate the curriculum. Inventories of books and lists of holdings in libraries bear witness to their continued vogue. Thus in spite of growing criticisms the classics held their own in institutions of learning.

That many men grounded in the great books of the Greeks and Romans continued after college to read and to draw inspiration from them in their everyday lives is clear from the wealth of classical allusions in oratory, in polite letters, and even in journalism. The argument has been made that the classics broadened the mental horizons of the men who led the Revolution and instilled in their hearts the Greek concept of honor and the Roman ideal of virtue. In point of fact, both conservatives and radicals drew support for their views from the classics. The distrust of human nature and the traditionalism in much classical literature no doubt strengthened men of a conservative and skeptical temper. On the other hand, liberals with rationalistic leanings no doubt derived support from the classical ideal that reason should control emotion and from the ancients' concept of natural law. During the discussions that preceded the Revolution and in the struggle itself, Aristotle and other classical authorities were cited on the superiority of the law of God and nature to that of human enactment. John Dickinson of Pennsylvania appealed to the *Antigone* as proof of the danger involved in violating the immutable law of nature. Demosthenes, Thucydides, Polybius, Plutarch, Cicero, and Tacitus were invoked to justify colonial resistance, and classical writers were quoted in support of the republican ideal.



tianized Jew, set a high standard of scholarship in the field of Hebraic studies at Harvard. His successor, Stephen Sewall, prepared a Hebrew grammar. Sewall's example was followed by other Hebraists, especially by the erudite president of King's College, Dr. Samuel Johnson, and by the Reverend Dr. Kunze of the University of Pennsylvania, who announced that his grammar was based upon an "improved plan." Although interest in Hebrew waned in the colleges during the later colonial period, the rich scholarship that Ezra Stiles, subsequently president of Yale, possessed in this field testified to the high standards that were still maintained. The proficiency that an exceptional scholar trained in the late colonial period might achieve in Arabic is illustrated by the correspondence the Reverend William Bentley of maritime Salem conducted with Arabic chiefs in their own tongue, and by the references in Bentley's diary, one of the great documents in the intellectual history of late eighteenth-century America.

### The Reception of Modern Literature

On the eve of the Revolution the private and quasi-public libraries of the American colonies included not only the writings of the ancient poets, historians, orators, and philosophers, but virtually all the works in Italian, French, and English of the leading figures of the Renaissance and succeeding centuries. Many of these urbane products of the Renaissance period had come from the libraries of seventeenth-century planters and clergymen, who had brought or imported them along with books on agriculture, mineralogy, medicine, law, theology, and piety. Planters favored Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* and comparable books in French and English, particularly *The Compleat Gentleman*, *The English Gentleman*, *The Gentleman's Calling*, and the like. But, as the studies of Louis B. Wright show, seventeenth-century planters also owned the works of Erasmus, Montaigne, Sir Thomas More, Bacon, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, Bodin, Hobbes, Descartes, Locke, Grotius, Butler, Burton, and many another known today only to specialists but highly regarded in that century.

Despite fires and other mishaps, many books from the seventeenth-century libraries of New England parsons were still in existence on the eve of the Revolution to testify to the broad interests of the erudite lead-

It has already been noted that occasional planters, farmers, and merchants engaged in scientific pursuits along with their other activities, or in other ways supported them. The interest in mathematics, astronomy, navigation, map making, and surveying sprang partly from the fact that these studies had practical value for men engaged in commerce, industry, and land promotion. John Winthrop, Jr., the seventeenth-century industrial promoter and governor of Connecticut, pursued his studies in astronomy, botany, chemistry, and metallurgy largely in the hope of achieving economic independence for himself and New England through the establishment of mines and industries. The interest of Philadelphia merchants in northern maritime routes led to their support of a project, premature to be sure, for arctic exploration. Only the scarcity of capital, it seems, prevented prospective entrepreneurs from acting on the suggestion of a Pennsylvania scientist for a geological survey.

In response to the stimulus of agricultural reformers in England, planters and farmers often engaged in scientific observation and experiment. But they were also influenced to do so by the exhaustion of their soil and by a desire to discover new or improved varieties of staples and stocks. The experiments of John Winthrop, II, with Indian corn, Jared Eliot's studies of husbandry, John Clayton's botanical observations, William Byrd's exploration of the economic and curative value of Virginia's plants, and Eliza Pinckney's experiments with indigo and rice are illustrative of the utilitarian motive of much scientific inquiry. So is the work of the Virginia planter, William Fitzhugh, who studied mineralogy in the hope of discovering precious metals on his estate. To emphasize this is not to deny that in some instances, notably in the case of John Bartram, the Quaker farmer of Pennsylvania, sheer love of nature itself or genuine scientific curiosity was a stronger motive than any utilitarian consideration.

Artisans with an unusual flair for mechanical manipulation also contributed to the advance of science. Thus navigation profited from the invention of the quadrant, to which the Philadelphia glazier Thomas Godfrey seems to have as good a claim as the Englishman Hadley for whom it was named. David Rittenhouse, self-taught astronomer, began his scientific work as a clock maker; and Amos Whittemore, subsequent inventor of a textile machine, was trained as a gunsmith. The greatest of colonial scientists, Benjamin Franklin, came from the artisan class and pursued the printing trade for much of his life.

The professions made the major contribution to the development of

publication of their work in the transactions of the Royal Society. Occasionally a well-to-do English friend of science contributed funds for the support of scientific investigations in the colonies. The action of the crown in appointing John Bartram royal botanist and allocating to him a small annual stipend was exceptional. The provincial legislature of Massachusetts helped finance the first astronomical expedition undertaken by Professor John Winthrop in 1761, when he observed in Nova Scotia the transit of Venus across the sun, and the Pennsylvania assembly contributed to the construction of telescopes and observatories for the study of the transit of Venus in 1769. Greatest of all boons was the establishment of the American Philosophical Society, which aided in the astronomical observations in 1769, promoted facilities for cooperative investigations on other occasions, and provided an outlet for publication.

The chief institutional support for colonial science came from the colleges. Instruction in the sciences, especially in the Copernican astronomy and in mathematics, was well established before the end of the seventeenth century. At Harvard Thomas Brattle observed and computed lunar eclipses and Halley's comet (1680). The data he thus assembled, together with his precise observations of the variations of the magnetic needle, were utilized by Newton in his *Principia*. Such recruits from the mother country as Charles Morton, who joined the Harvard staff in 1692, and especially Isaac Greenwood, did much to lessen the vogue of Aristotelian authoritarianism in college science.

Other colleges gradually assembled sufficient apparatus to give students some acquaintance with the experimental method of studying astronomy, physics, and chemistry. In his *General Idea of the College of Mirania* (1753) Provost William Smith of the College of Pennsylvania envisioned the triumph of scientific knowledge over error, superstition, and the physical obstacles imposed by the wilderness. The first instruction in non-Aristotelian botany given in an American college was that provided at the Philadelphia institution over which he presided. In 1768 Adam Kuhn, a student of Linnaeus, began his lectures in botany. The following year Dr. Benjamin Rush became, at the same institution, the first American professor of chemistry. At King's College special attention was also given to the study of natural phenomena.

On the popular level the magazines and especially the almanacs contributed to the diffusion of scientific knowledge. *The American Magazine* (1757-1758) found space for original problems in mathematics and

## Methods, Assumptions, and Theories in Colonial Science

In looking at the growing body of scientific knowledge accumulated during the colonial period one is struck by many features that differentiate it from science today. What we think of as science was then divided into two fields: natural philosophy, which included physics, chemistry, and mathematics; and natural history, comprising geology, botany, and zoology. But there was so little specialization that most investigators were as much at home in natural philosophy as in natural history. Dr. John Mitchell of Virginia won a reputation in physics, medicine, scientific agriculture, and cartography, and also found time to assemble more than a thousand specimens of native plants. James Logan, a Philadelphia merchant and agent for the Penn family, stole time from his labors to study mathematics, botany, and optics.

Cadwallader Colden was a physician, an anthropologist, a botanist, a physicist, and a mathematician. Professor Winthrop worked in the fields of mathematics, geography, physics, electricity, and astronomy. Franklin concerned himself with mathematics, mechanics, physics, geology, and oceanography. The greatest degree of specialization was achieved by John Bartram and his son William, whose activities were largely confined to botany.

Any discussion of scientific method in the colonial period must take as its point of departure the status of mathematical knowledge, for the study of astronomy and physics especially was closely dependent on mathematics. Although the relatively simple economy of the seventeenth century did not generally require widespread use of anything except the most elementary arithmetic, a few scholars, chief of whom was Thomas Brattle of Harvard, displayed in their calculations for the almanacs accurate knowledge of certain branches of higher mathematics. Such mathematics as Harvard taught was largely subordinated to astronomy; in considerable measure this remained true of all the colleges in the eighteenth century.

As commerce, navigation, and surveying enlisted ever stronger interest in the later colonial period, knowledge of mathematics became more widespread. Bishop Berkeley's presence in New England and the evolution of the American Philosophical Society also contributed to the growing interest in this subject. In 1728, when Isaac Greenwood became Hollis professor of mathematics and natural science at Harvard, the

David Rittenhouse, who was likewise a disciple of Newton. Self-taught though he was, handicapped by ill health and straitened means, suspected by many orthodox Quakers, Rittenhouse nonetheless developed sufficient competency in both mathematics and astronomy to contribute to these fields work that was significant if not as original as Winthrop's paper on comets (1759). In his calculations of the transit of Venus in 1769 Rittenhouse corrected an error made by the more learned Winthrop and, according to good authority, observed certain features that escaped all other observers. His part in fixing the disputed boundaries of his state also testified to his skill in mathematics.

But what most endeared Rittenhouse to his contemporaries was his construction in 1767 of the orrery. This machine, which simulated the motions of the planets and their satellites and lunar and solar eclipses at any point in time backward or forward for 5000 years, provided spectators with a remarkable picture of the solar system and the precision of its movements. Jefferson with pardonable pride and exaggeration wrote of him in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*: "He has not indeed made a world; but he has by imitation approached nearer its Maker than any man who has lived from the creation to this day."<sup>1</sup> His improvements in the telescope constituted another practical service to astronomy for which Rittenhouse was much applauded.

Not only did mathematics assist scientists in constructing precision instruments; it enabled them to manipulate the "philosophical apparatus" in the "cabinets" that gradually took shape in college halls. Instructors resorted to mathematics to test and demonstrate hypotheses in the fields of gravitation, electricity, heat, and pneumatics. This was all the more important in view of the fact that some of the current textbooks, such as Benjamin Martin's *Philosophical Grammar*, lent sanction to many views that were accepted on mere authority. Dr. Alexander Garden of Charleston admired the use to which Linnaeus put mathematics in his studies of botany and zoology, but the time had not yet come for its wide application in biology.

Colonial naturalists, largely concerned as they were with the collection and classification of specimens, made only occasional use of the microscope and of experimental techniques. Cotton Mather was impressed by the microscope's wondrous powers, and Edward Bromfield of Boston

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 64.

persisted. In 1769 a Harvard disputation on the question whether the reptiles of America originated from those preserved by Noah was decided in the affirmative.

Authoritarian and traditional barriers to scientific advance nevertheless did give way. Many a time-honored myth sanctioned by the authority of a distinguished name was dispelled by the shrewd observations of a people who had to adjust themselves to a new environment. Even the untutored pioneer, seeking his food in stream and forest, rejected the notion that migrating birds flew to the moon in winter. While a Philadelphia naturalist maintained as late as 1800 that swallows hibernated in mud and while ideas of fantastic animals persisted in some quarters, such concepts were exceptional among a people who had from necessity rubbed close elbows with nature.

Colonial scientists were generally more concerned with amplifying and supporting the theories of European scientists, Newton in natural philosophy and Linnaeus in natural history, than in advancing hypotheses of their own. For the most part American naturalists contented themselves with filling in the gaps which the strange phenomena in their own vicinity invited them to explore. In this they showed good judgment, for at best they were ill equipped to advance theoretical explanations or to make imposing syntheses of scientific knowledge.

Cadwallader Colden, the versatile lieutenant governor of New York, was an exception. He was interested in the larger issues of synthesis and made bold to grapple with the stiffest problems implicit in Cartesianism and Newtonianism. Trained at the University of Edinburgh, Colden corresponded with the leading scientists and thinkers in England and on the Continent. He differed with Bishop Berkeley's analysis of Newton's theories and ventured to criticize and make practical applications of the theories of fluxions and gravitation. In his *Principles of Action in Matter* (1751) he disavowed materialism. Nevertheless, he himself came close to taking a materialist position; what he did was to resolve matter into the mechanics of force by holding that the properties of things are merely their various modes of activity. In 1778 another physicist, Benjamin Thompson, provided experimental evidence in his work on heat in support of this theory of matter. But in taking an even more comprehensive position Colden made a pioneer contribution toward a mature phase of scientific materialism which deserves to be remembered.

Colden was, not the only one to advance scientific hypotheses in

Leyden jar and on his own theory concerning the nature of electricity. The kite experiment, the date of which is somewhat obscure, confirmed his thesis that machine-made or frictional electricity was identical with atmospheric electricity. The significance of his experiment has been popularly overemphasized, but it did make his original contributions to electrical theory better known. His hypothesis and theories, advanced first in letters to an English correspondent and presented by him to the Royal Society, were published in 1751 as *Experiments and Observations on Electricity made at Philadelphia in America*, a book rightly regarded as one of the most important treatises in the history of man's knowledge of electricity. French scientists confirmed his findings, but Franklin's honor remains that of an original mind.

Because of the great popularity it achieved, Franklin's work had a double significance. It contributed to an explanation of the phenomenon of lightning, one of nature's wildest spectacles. But it also increased the respect of the popular mind for natural philosophy. Lightning, like earthquakes, comets, violent storms, and other awesome displays of nature, had always been a principal source of dread and speculation about the supernatural. Franklin helped tame the thunderbolt, and by doing so helped foster a more empirical and less fearful attitude toward the world. Franklin also discovered a way of controlling lightning. In hitting on the fact that "points have a property by which they can draw on as well as throw off the electrical fluid at a greater distance than blunt bodies can," and that atmospheric electricity could be drawn from the skies through a wet string and passed off in visible sparks through a key, he took the easy next step to the invention of the lightning rod.

The invention of the lightning rod was only one illustration of Franklin's conviction that science should promote general well-being. His practical interest did not stop with experimentation and theory; he illustrated the relationship between science and its application to everyday life for the increase of comfort and well-being by inventing a stove that vastly improved the heating of houses, and by suggesting bifocal lenses, daylight saving, and air bathing. Out of a concern for sailing vessels on the high seas and for man's good in other situations, Franklin provided proof of the movement of cyclonic storms, constructed a pioneer map of the Gulf Stream, studied the behavior of oil in water, and investigated many other phenomena in natural history, chemistry, geology, mathematics, and physics.

While utilitarianism governed Franklin's conception of science—he

use, and many important agents in materia medica, such as ergot, iodine, morphia, and strychnine, were not yet in vogue. Almost all physicians were prone to use excessive drugs, both in quantity and in kind. Even worse in its effects on therapeutics was the doctrine of correspondence. The best physicians accepted, a priori, general theories of the cause of disease and then applied the specific that seemed logical. Thus blood-letting was carried to incredible lengths on the assumption that it was the proper means, with blistering and emetics, of relieving the system of "morbid acrimonies, and other matters in the blood."

In colonial America certain social and economic conditions still further handicapped the advance of professional medicine. Not until the second quarter of the eighteenth century did many young men go to Edinburgh, London, and other medical centers for their training; the great majority of the physicians on the eve of the Revolution were trained as apprentices to established practitioners. The fact that only in the larger towns could physicians devote their entire time to medicine, since in most communities the practitioner had to supplement his meager income by farming or some other vocation, put yet another check on professional development. Specialization was frowned upon; it made faltering headway even in the largest towns only after the mid-century. With population widely dispersed, with few and bad roads, with little ready cash in the pockets of great numbers of the common people, much reliance was put on self-treatment. George Fisher's *The American Instructor*, to which is added *The Poor Planter's Physician*, and John Wesley's *Primitive Physick, or An Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases*, are examples of popular books of home medicine.

Although trained physicians did not themselves continue generally to employ folk notions such as administering drugs according to the phases of the moon, and using manure for poulticing sores, spider webs for treating fever, and rattlesnake poison mixed with cheese for rheumatism, they had to contend against such practices. Matters were not helped by the fact that quacks abounded. The poverty of great numbers of people, together with their credulity, made them, then as now, easy prey to unscrupulous vendors of miraculous cure-alls.

In still other ways popular prejudice stood in the way of medical advance. Although autopsies were occasionally performed in the seventeenth century, religious prejudices against such practices made it almost impossible for physicians to use cadavers in teaching anatomy. Angry



tion and the rising body of scientific knowledge colonial Americans once more showed that in spite of their isolation at least their intellectual leaders belonged to the western community of knowledge. While the classics and polite literature, which were regarded as indispensable to the training of a learned clergy and the education of gentlemen, continued as in Europe to set the social classes apart, science promised to close somewhat the gulf between the learned few and the uncultivated many. Many clergymen welcomed science as an additional support for theology. But it was also welcomed because it was useful in helping colonists to conquer the wilderness, to advance their social status, and to achieve wealth and comfort.

The development of a body of scientific knowledge regarding the universe and the application of parts of this knowledge to the increase of man's worldly goods and the improvement of his physical health had other consequences. It tended to promote secularism and faith in the ability of human reason to find the truth and to use it to improve the human lot. At the same time that man's faith in supernaturalism, whether in matters of cosmology or of therapeutics, was diminished, his conception of human nature, of social relations, and of the Deity became more rational, that is, he viewed such matters as more subject to investigation in terms of reason and nature. But this is another story.

system ruled by the mathematical law of cause and effect. The assumption was that man, as a part of this rational universe, could understand it through his own reason; it was no longer necessary to view the universe as a mystery only partially explained by divine revelation. Religious doctrines must consequently be tested by reason and accepted only if found to be in accord with the great rational design of the universe as comprehended by man's mind. To the true son of the Enlightenment the only religion validated by mathematics, logic, and scientific observation and experiment was deism—a philosophy conceiving of the Deity as an architect who had planned and set in motion a harmonious and self-regulating universe.

According to the philosophy of the Enlightenment, human nature was not predetermined by an arbitrary deity; it was the natural result of the environment that molded it. Man possessed no innate ideas; his mind was the product of his experiences, good and bad. Total depravity and predestination were mere religious fictions invented by the priests to reinforce their control over the credulous. If human nature contained large elements of evil, these were simply the result of natural causes—irrational conditions and an authoritative type of training. Man had the power to improve his own nature by improving his environment through science and education so it would accord with reason and natural law. Thus the Enlightenment conceived of human nature in optimistic terms.

Political, social, and economic theories no longer rested on supernatural revelation, but on natural law. The ancient theory of contract under natural law was invoked to explain the procedure by which man had forged society from the original state of nature in which individuals existed like so many atoms. Thus the state and society were not organic but mechanistic; they were merely an artificial entity. The only ultimate reality was the individual, whose natural rights to life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness could not rightfully be alienated by the state. If the state did violate the natural law of the universe by alienating these rights, then in the interest of reason and justice men could and should resort to revolution. Since man could in any case test institutions by reason and reform them according to its light, the world was infinitely perfectible. The heavenly city was here on this earth, and man was to achieve it through his own rational powers. Belief in these powers constituted, as Carl Becker has maintained, a new religious faith.

These basic ideas of the Enlightenment were deeply rooted in the

Commerce and trade and the urban life, which grew rapidly along the Atlantic seacoast throughout the eighteenth century, provided fertile soil for the growth of ideas characteristic of the Enlightenment. The fact that many peoples with conflicting religious ideas were living together helped to break down religious authoritarianism; some degree of toleration was a practical necessity if order and prosperity were to be realized. These peoples had come to America to be free from authority—in many cases from the authority of a particular kind of religion or from that of a landed gentry or a restrictive trade guild system. They had come here to realize a fuller life as individuals, and in the belief that America had a future which human effort might shape. Colonial conditions—above all, the existence of free or cheap lands and other natural resources—proved that they were not entirely wrong.

The predominantly agricultural and religious character of colonial society and thought and its remoteness from European centers of intellectual life explain in part why the Enlightenment developed later in America than in Europe. But conditions favorable to it did exist, and it did develop. Its rise and growth provided the most exciting intellectual experience of the men and women who looked with increasing favor on the "great truths" which were congenial to their physical and spiritual needs.

### **Rationalism in Religion**

Recent scholarship has emphasized the place that Puritanism made for the exercise of reason in the solution of both daily problems and theological mysteries. Roger Williams, it will be recalled, was a true precursor of the Enlightenment in his opposition to external compulsion in matters of faith and belief—in his insistence that all men, and not merely priestly scholars, were capable of understanding truth. And Roger Williams' imperishable pleas for religious freedom were not the only elements in Puritan thought that foreshadowed the rationalism of the Enlightenment. Even the most orthodox Puritans believed that the truth of Scripture was to be upheld by means of "right reason." In according prominence to the humanistic logic of the great French Protestant thinker, Petrus Ramus, New England Puritans modified the Aristotelian and scholastic logic and the metaphysics of Calvin. Many shared with Ramus the conviction that the inherently rational universe

fluence important groups in New York as well as the youth under his charge.

As Newton's exposition of the rational nature of the universe was more widely accepted, a group of New England clergymen carried further the rationalistic implications in Puritanism itself. Newton's influence accounts in part for the rationalistic tone in the writings of Benjamin Colman of Boston, who declared for the principle of rationality both in the Deity and in His human creatures. The reading of such seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English latitudinarian and rationalistic theologians as Herbert of Cherbury, Chillingworth, Locke, Taylor, Clarke, and Tillotson further strengthened Puritan divines in their new views, for these English theologians had absorbed, among many streams of thought, the teachings of the Dutch Arminius, who had emphasized man's cooperation in salvation as well as God's grace. The Puritan doctrine that God had given man his reason to use in pursuit of the truth influenced such New England parsons as Lemuel Biant, Ebenezer Gay, Solomon Stoddard, and Peter Bulkeley to apply the test of reason to some of the chief problems of religion.

The shift away from revealed religion to natural religion is illustrated by the theology of John Wise. This Ipswich minister, whose father was an indentured servant and who himself had gone to jail for protesting against the regime of Governor Andros, declared that "right reason, that great oracle in human affairs, is the soul of man so formed and endowed by creation with a certain sagacity or acumen whereby man's intellect is enabled to take up the true idea or perception of things agreeable with and according to their natures." In a subsequent book this champion of democracy in church and in secular government argued for reason and revelation as equally valid.

During this period the rationalistic emphasis in theological thought led to modifications of the doctrines of predestination and Trinitarianism. Jonathan Mayhew of the West Church in Boston expounded his belief in rational liberty and in man's capacity to determine his fate. In his discussion of theological problems he applied the rational method; the light of nature and the law of Moses pointed, he urged, to the same duties of man. In Mayhew's insistence on the unity of the Deity and in his conception of the subordinate nature of Christ he was close to the Unitarian position, a significant outcome of rationalistic theology. The rationalistic interest in the nature of Christ led to the republication in

revivalist Whitefield reported that the writings of such deists as Tillotson and Clarke enjoyed great popularity among Harvard students. He was no less exercised over the fact that the library which Bishop Berkeley bequeathed to Yale contained some thirty volumes written by exponents of rationalism in religion. At Newport the painter Robert Feke was the center of a group that read and discussed deistic writings. It was also from Newport that the freethinking printer, Theophilus Cossart, traveled about the colonies, no doubt spreading his unorthodox wares. At Philadelphia a circle of which Franklin was in a sense the center imbibed the new ideas. The Library Company of Pennsylvania's capital was amply supplied with the writings of the great rationalists and deists. According to the Reverend Jonathan Dickinson, Philadelphia coffee-houses were by mid-century the scene of considerable deistic talk. Whitefield preached in that city for the special benefit of "Reasoning Unbelievers." Some of Virginia's gentry were exposed to such advanced doctrines at William and Mary, and many planters read deistic literature in their own libraries and more than half accepted its teachings. At Savannah in 1737 John Wesley discovered an avowed deist! Presently the great evangelist declared that deism was a greater menace to the colony than popery itself.

The spread of the ideas of British and French deists and rationalists was facilitated not only by the importation of their books but by the discussion of their theories in colonial periodicals. Although editors generally pictured Voltaire as a devil and a brilliant wit, Jeremy Gridley, learned Boston lawyer and a leading contributor to the *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, showed the "great philosopher" proper respect. Voltaire's *Treatise on Tolerance* and his *Philosophical Dictionary* were frequently referred to, and long extracts from his tales, historical writings, and essays appeared in the periodical press. The poetical versions of rationalism and deism in the writings of Pope and other English poets likewise gained fragmentary admittance to the pages of colonial magazines in the years following the mid-century.

Newspaper readers also began to get glimmerings of the new approach to religion and the universe. Some journals included deistic pieces and others printed articles written to refute these heresies. In 1739 the *Charleston Gazette* discussed rationalism and deism, and the spread of "infidelity" was deplored by Alexander Graham, another South Carolina writer. Certain New York journals opened their columns to the new

prominent men, including Virginians who were to play leading parts in the Revolution, continued to maintain nominal affiliations with churches and avoided open espousals of deism in its advanced forms.

Further investigation may yield a more complete and satisfactory explanation for the acceptance of a moderate form of deism by many among the fortunate classes. Where authority is concentrated in a military or political or religious aristocracy and the masses are ignorant and poor, faith in an arbitrary God would naturally prevail more widely, and the need for mercy and for divine intervention be more widely felt, than in a society where a relatively prosperous and less ignorant middle class was beginning to be important and in which business men and successful farmers could attain both money and learning. Many such men, one might suppose, would not need the comforts of the old religion and would be equipped to understand the new. Very likely many thoughtful men were influenced to entertain the new doctrines by such excesses as those of the witchcraft delusion and the Great Awakening.

However one may account for the appeal of the rationalistic and deistic ideas to many educated men, the reasons for their failure to spread widely among the common people in this period can more easily be understood. One factor, perhaps a minor one, was the attitude of many among the favored classes who regarded religion as an important device for maintaining order and discipline among the "meaner sort" of folk. In 1745 a writer in the *American Magazine* urged reasonable men to hold "infidels" in contempt because they tended to become the "Idols of the Mob." Religious teachings, this writer continued, kept the "Rabble" orderly; deism might well promote social upheaval. Many among the substantial classes probably agreed with Franklin that even if the more extreme form of deism was valid, it could not be useful. As Franklin put it, "talking against religion is unchaining a tiger; the beast let loose may worry his liberator." Franklin and those who agreed with him feared that attacks on religion might, in short, sap morality among the feeble and ignorant. In holding that religion was justified by its moral utility and its value in social control of the masses, the humane and generally liberal Franklin probably represented the point of view of the class into which he had moved since the days of his apprenticeship in the printing trade.

The opposition of such men as Franklin to the spread of deism among the plain people was by no means the most important reason for the

American interest in economic problems was naturally stimulated by these developments in the motherland as well as by the increasing complexity of American social and economic life. The seventeenth-century theory that economic and social issues were tied to religion, which Puritans and Quakers had taken with special seriousness, was supplemented or even replaced by the new secular and rationalistic approach. The incidental attention given to economic and social theory in collegiate instruction in connection with the classics, theology, and philosophy was enlarged at William and Mary, where in 1724 Hugh Jones advocated the study of American history and the training of young men for colonial civil service through the social disciplines. In 1754 the College of Philadelphia announced instruction in "The Ends and Uses of Society," and King's College moved in the same direction. A larger proportion of students chose to wrestle with social, political, and economic theories in their disputations. The growing attention given to the study of law in the offices of practitioners was another indication of the increasing importance of a body of thought and knowledge directly related to the needs of an ever more complex economy. The classical curriculum was, to be sure, still regarded as the necessary preparation for the professions, but the increasing interest in the social disciplines was nevertheless well defined.

Economic conflicts within the colonies occasioned sharply pointed discussions in which the first American contributions to economic theory were made. Agriculture, trade, taxation, and, above all, currency provided the subject matter for a considerable body of writing in which every interest was supported and attacked by lawyers, newspaper editors, clergymen, planters, merchants, and public officials. Most of these ephemeral writings reflected heat rather than light, but they accustomed Americans to read and write on controversial economic issues. They also placed less emphasis than former discussions, especially those of the seventeenth-century Puritans, on the idea that God's plan and will, not man's, was the directing force in economic matters. The implication that man could control his earthly goods rationally was an evidence that the Enlightenment was operating in the field of American economic thought.

Franklin alone of the colonial writers on economic theory has continued to interest students of the subject, despite the fact that he developed no well-defined and systematic body of economic doctrine. He did not even master the greatest of the European theorists who dealt with

place. The vogue of the classics in colonial culture must have inclined many who read of the conflict between the "ancients" and "moderns" to side with the "ancients." And, of course, the traditional Calvinistic doctrine of an unchangeable human nature ran counter to faith in unlimited progress.

Yet there was much in colonial life and thought that made the doctrine of progress acceptable. The rapid growth of everything in America encouraged its inhabitants to envision a limitless future development. The achievements of science and the Baconian conception of the social utopia that science might effect fed the springs of the faith in progress. A contributor to the *Virginia Gazette* in 1737 represented a fairly widely held faith in the glorious future of the human mind: "The world, but a few ages since, was in a very poor condition as to trade and navigation. Nor, indeed, were they much better in other matters of useful knowledge. All knowledge of mathematics, of nature, of the brightest part of human wisdom, had their admission among us within the last two centuries. The world is now daily increasing in experimental knowledge and let no man flatter the age with pretending we are arrived to a perfection in discoveries." The idea of progress, which was to enjoy a peculiarly American flowering in the Revolutionary era, was one of the most significant legacies of the eighteenth century to the America of the nineteenth.

### The Natural Rights Philosophy

No less characteristic of the Enlightenment or any less important in late eighteenth-century American thought than the idea of progress was the natural rights philosophy. According to this philosophy, to which ancient, medieval, and early modern writers had contributed, men originally lived in a state of nature without benefit of civil authority. Possessing the same natural rights and governed by the same natural laws—the rights to life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness—each enforced these rights as best he could. Since the strong often took advantage of the weak, men surrendered, in accordance with the dictates of reason, the state of nature for the civil state. In doing so they merely surrendered the right to enforce their natural rights individually; the rights themselves were not surrendered, contrary to the view of Hobbes and other exponents of absolute monarchy. These rights, which were



dethrone him, was "but a reasonable way of vindicating their liberties and just rights"; it was merely "making use of the means, and the only means, which God has put into their power, for mutual and self-defense. And it would be highly criminal in them; not to make use of this means."<sup>1</sup> No wonder that this sermon by Mayhew was remembered and reprinted on the eve of the Revolution!

Lawyers as well as clergymen popularized the natural rights philosophy. In 1728 Daniel Dulany, attorney general of Maryland, quoted an array of great political philosophers to support the concept of a basic natural law which no human authority could subvert. The philosophy was still further popularized by the legal writings of Blackstone, which were read by plantation gentlemen as well as by candidates for the bar. James Otis, a Boston lawyer, cited the natural rights of self-taxation, personal liberty, and freedom in his opposition to the writs of assistance and the revenue act of 1764. "The colonists being men, have a right to be considered as equally entitled to all the rights of Nature with Europeans, and they are not to be restrained, in the exercise of any of these rights, but for the evident good of the whole country."

But it was only gradually that the colonists followed the precedent set by Otis and invoked the natural rights philosophy in their agitation against the policies of the mother country. They appealed rather to their rights as Englishmen, to their colonial charters, and finally to their conception of an imperial federation of self-governing dominions. When London brushed all these arguments aside, then the patriots resorted to the full implications of the natural rights philosophy. Erudite revolutionists like John Adams made good use of such authorities as Machiavelli, Bodin, and the still disputed author of *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*. But it was Burlamqui, Vattel, Grotius, and Pufendorf, together with the Puritan theorists of the seventeenth century, and above all Locke, who enjoyed the widest popularity. Hence when Jefferson put the doctrine of natural rights into the imperishable words of the Declaration of Independence, it was already familiar to Americans through the writings of well-known leaders and pamphleteers.

Although most colonial expositions of the natural rights philosophy showed little sympathy with its "leveling" implications, these played some part in the protests against special privileges. Judge Samuel Sewall

<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Mayhew, *A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers* (Boston, 1750), 24, 40.

mindfulness and obvious sincerity of the great humanitarian leaders of the middle class. Motivation in such matters varies with individuals and with groups. It is likely to be mixed, complex, impossible to analyze clearly. But the outcome of that motivation in word and deed the historian may trace.

In any case humanitarianism was a body of thought and feeling embracing many ideas and values. The doctrine of progress suggested the possibility, even the inevitability, of elevating the most unfortunate members of society. The natural rights philosophy could be interpreted to justify this elevation as right and just. The rising romantic sentiment, idealizing as it did primitive peoples and emphasizing the dignity of the individual and the beauty of God's creation, also encouraged sympathy for the Indian, the slave, or the wretch near at hand in jail or slum. The romantic poet James Thomson, whose *Seasons* (1726-1730) enjoyed some vogue in America, encouraged the organization of charity and prison reform; Edward Young, whose romantic *Night Thoughts* (1742-1745) rivaled *The Seasons*, also recommended kindness and benevolence as the duty of every living soul. Goldsmith and other romanticists showed their sympathies for the lowly. Carl Becker has suggested that romanticism, with its emphasis on sentiment, was the chief means by which the sons of the Enlightenment attempted to solve the problem of evil; in view of the actual existence of cruelty and brutality in both human nature and the institutions man had made, this problem was inexplicable by rationalism alone or by Locke's repudiation of innate ideas.

No constituent in humanitarianism was more important than Christian ethics and piety, especially as exemplified by Quakers and the evangelical sects. The Quaker doctrine that the golden rule should be put into daily practice led to concern for the unfortunate classes; and despite their preoccupation with eternal life, the evangelicals, because they ministered chiefly to the lowly, could not be blind to the actual miseries of the degraded and impoverished who flooded prisons and slums. Even before the Revolution Granville Sharp, a leading British adherent of evangelicism, was in close touch with colonial humanitarians.

Among other winds that filled the sails of humanitarianism was the deistic faith in the essential goodness and rationality of mankind. Indeed, the humanitarians translated into practice this rationalistic doctrine, which in the hands of so many of its philosophical exponents was largely divorced from action. Typical of the English deists who bridged

set forth the environmentalist conception of human nature and human institutions and plainly implied that man might control and shape both.

Although environmentalism has many earlier expressions, a classic one is that of the French-American literary husbandman Crèvecoeur, who argued that laws, customs, and institutions are governed by the way of life imposed by physical resources. "Men are like plants; the goodness and flavor of the fruit proceeds from the particular soil and exposition in which they grow. We are nothing but what we derive from the air we breathe, the climate we inhabit, the government we obey, the system of religion we profess, and the mode of our employment."<sup>2</sup>

Among the specific humanitarian causes engendered by the doctrine of environmentalism prison reform stood near the top. Having investigated English prisons, James Oglethorpe, a high Tory, promoted the colonization of Georgia as a haven for England's disheartened debtors. Philanthropic persons supplemented the yearly grants of Parliament, which in 1732 made possible the Georgia experiment in humanitarianism and empire—for the new colony was also a pivotal outpost on the border of the Spanish domains. The haven which Georgia was intended to provide for victims of English social and legal anachronisms was also open to the persecuted Protestants of Germany and Switzerland. But despite Oglethorpe's devotion and the zeal of such evangelical leaders as John and Charles Wesley, the humanitarian aspects of the experiment fell by the board; American frontier conditions and individualistic ideology were not well adapted to the planned economy of small holdings and the paternalism on which the founders of the colony counted.

Humanitarian interest in the lot of criminals was also greatly stimulated by the teachings of Beccaria, the Italian philosopher, whose treatise *On Crimes and Punishments* interpreted crime in terms of environmental and utilitarian factors. Beccaria taught that punishments should reform the criminal and deter him from further crime. His devastating criticism of the common infliction of the death penalty for minor crimes found ready response in America, where human beings were more needed than in the overpopulated countries of the Old World. Beccaria was cited by John Adams in his defense of the British soldiers for their part in the Boston Massacre. Jefferson, too, made the acquaintance of Beccaria's book in the decade before independence. But Beccaria's philos-

<sup>2</sup> J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (Philadelphia, 1793), 48.

Representative of the more secular phases of humanitarianism was the versatile Franklin, Benezet's neighbor and friend. Franklin well exemplified the remark of Voltaire that "without humanity, the virtue which comprehends all virtues, the name of philosopher would be little deserved." Social responsibility bulked large in Franklin's thought. Thus the members of the Junto which he organized in 1727 promised to love mankind and took a stand against slavery and other inhumane customs. His growing dislike of slavery was expressed when in 1727 he printed Ralph Sandiford's *Practice of the Times*, an abolitionist tract. But the slave was not the only unfortunate who enlisted the attention of the busy statesman and philosopher. Those who somehow failed to achieve a due portion of man's worldly goods also aroused his sympathy. To lessen the likelihood of war, he spoke and worked for an imperial federation as the most promising method of solving the problem of colonial tensions with England; and when this failed he tried to delimit the scope of war by negotiating treaties for the young Republic providing that maritime civilians might be exempted from the relentless war machine. In still other ways Franklin, without thinking himself the less patriotic, fostered internationalism and cosmopolitanism.

In his insistence that women's intellectual inferiority was due to the limitations imposed on them by tradition Franklin was in yet another respect on the side of humanitarianism and enlightenment. Most Americans, holding that women are by nature inferior to men and at best diadems in their husbands' crowns, accepted without question the inferior legal status of women, a status which, while more advanced in many respects in America than in England, closely followed common law. In the position he took on the abilities and status of women Franklin was in advance of his American contemporaries. But a clarion call for the emancipation of women was sounded before the Declaration of Independence. Thomas Paine, editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* and protégé of Franklin, inserted in the issue of August, 1775, an essay on females which was perhaps the first general plea in America for the underprivileged sex.

Thus the colonial period saw the development of virtually every aspect of the Enlightenment. A sizeable minority of leaders of thought were attacking crude supernaturalism in religion, and more rational doctrines were preached from the pulpit with increasing frequency. The doctrine of progress and the natural rights philosophy took firm hold in the American colonies, and the latter was invoked in appeals to England for

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# The Growth of Americanism

## 6 The Revolutionary Shift in Emphasis

*Here all religion rests, and soon thy race  
Her purest lights, by wisdom's eye shall trace.  
Here the last flights of science shall ascend,  
To look thro' heaven, and sense with reason  
blend.*

—JOEL BARLOW, *The Vision of Columbus*, 1787

*The present may with propriety be styled the  
age of philanthropy; and America, the empire  
of reason.*

—ENOS HITCHCOCK, 1799

In popularizing the natural rights philosophy and the humanitarian doctrines of the Enlightenment the American Revolution opened no new vistas in our intellectual life. But it did accelerate, if indeed it did not itself make possible, the realization of certain values in the Enlightenment that have come to be thought of as characteristically American. In affecting economic, social, and political life the American Revolution inevitably exerted an influence also on intellectual perspectives and cultural institutions. It dealt severe blows to the agencies of intellectual life, but it also did much to democratize American thought.

facture of saltpeter and directed the new United States mint. Writing to him in 1778, Jefferson remarked half-reproachfully: "I doubt not there are in your country many persons equal to the task of conducting government; but you should consider that the world has but one Rittenhouse, and that it never had that before."<sup>1</sup>

In any period of action men's energies are largely absorbed in practical pursuits and speculative thought tends to go by the board. Years after the peace was won De Witt Clinton observed that "the convulsions, devastations, and horrors which attended the Revolution were ill calculated to cherish the interests of science. Our seminaries of education were broken up; and all our attention was occupied in resisting the calamities which pressed upon the country."<sup>2</sup> The vicissitudes of the Revolution led to the destruction of the two manuscript volumes which John Clayton of Virginia had written to supplement his great *Flora Virginica*, published under the auspices of Gronovius.

Clinton's gloomy remarks were borne out in the damage inflicted by the war on many agencies of intellectual life. In rural areas schools generally closed their doors, and even in the towns their work was hindered. From the time that the British occupied the city until the war ended, New York had no schools. The Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, an effective agency for elementary education in the Middle and Southern Colonies, abandoned its work during the conflict and did not resume it after England's final defeat. Many of the Latin grammar schools and other secondary institutions were crippled. Even in New England, where education was most deeply rooted, the schools often suffered because of the general preoccupation with the tasks of war. Illiteracy increased, as did indebtedness and poverty.

The colleges, when they continued their activities at all, did so with depleted ranks and under severe strains. Of the Yale staff a number were transferred to other locations. Tutor Dwight, for instance, took some of the students to Wethersfield; Professor Story centered his instruction at Glastonbury; and President Dagget visited "the different classes as often as he could with convenience." Harvard gave up its halls to the provincial troops, to reoccupy them after the British evacuated Boston.

<sup>1</sup> Julian P. Boyd (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton University Press, 1950- ), II, 203.

<sup>2</sup> De Witt Clinton, *An Introductory Discourse delivered before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New-York* (New York, 1815), 13.

that reduced half the city to ashes; only 185 volumes were saved, and these only in much-mutilated condition. Like other proprietary and subscription libraries, the Charleston Library Society suffered a great depletion of funds as a result of the chaos of revolutionary finance.

During the war it had been almost impossible to import imprints from England, and colonial presses were so poorly equipped that it was hard for their owners to supply substitutes. The first foundry for casting type had been established only in 1772, and it was almost impossible for American printers to maintain themselves without aid from abroad. Of the 43 newspapers published in 1783, not one, even of those in the leading towns, enjoyed an uninterrupted career throughout the war. Two of the three magazines being issued in British America on the eve of the Revolution were forced to abandon publication when hostilities began; another, inaugurated in the midst of the conflict, did not survive at all. Difficult as it was to maintain newspapers and magazines, it was even harder to publish books. Thus the war interfered with the composition and publication of the volumes of miscellaneous poems, inspired by the English lyricists as well as by Pope, which had appeared in the last two decades of the colonial period with increasing frequency and which gave growing evidence of literary skill.

For scientists the problems posed by war were also grave. The colonial man of science depended, perhaps even more than the poet or essayist, on contacts with Europeans. During the war many scientists on both sides of the Atlantic made strenuous efforts to keep the channels of communication and investigation open. Franklin, for example, overstepped his authority and directed American warships not to molest the exploring expedition of British Captain James Cook. Cook's men were not enemies, Franklin declared, but rather "common friends to mankind."<sup>4</sup> In general, however, American science suffered the same retarding effects of the war as did other intellectual pursuits. The closing of many of the colleges, the lack of books, the difficulties of correspondence, the interruption of the stream of young men to European centers of learning, all slowed the development of science in the new nation.

In disrupting the activities of the churches on which so much of the intellectual life of the colonial era centered, the Revolution dealt a severe blow to the life of the intellect. Much church property was de-

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America* (University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 221.



try they had no scope nor encouragement for exertion." It seemed, he went on, "as if the war not only required, but created talents." Men whose minds were "warmed with the love of liberty, and whose abilities were improved by daily exercise, and sharpened with a laudable ambition to serve their distressed country, spoke, wrote, and acted, with an energy far surpassing all expectations which could be reasonably founded on their previous acquirements."<sup>6</sup> Certainly many of the rank and file who participated in the Revolution enjoyed long afterward a dignified social and political status.

Intellectual democracy was also stimulated by the development of pamphleteering and the popularization of ideas that resulted from the mass circulation of literature. The natural rights philosophy with which Americans had become increasingly familiar during the rise of the Enlightenment was translated into stirring calls to action. Resistance to tyranny, the right of a people to determine its fate, the glories involved in a struggle for liberty—all these ideas found full expression. Such anti-monarchical, prodemocratic, and militant pamphlets as *Common Sense* and *The Crisis*, written by a young and obscure recent arrival from England, Thomas Paine, were representative of a considerable body of popular literature. Republican pamphleteering helped to break the prop to conservative thought which the mystical, symbolical concept of monarchy had strengthened. Old ideas were further weakened by the publicity that was given to the uprooting of a variety of feudal vestiges of landholding. In examining the later history of the Enlightenment there will be occasion to consider this widespread political education in greater detail.

By accelerating the separation of church and state—a process that indeed had already started—the Revolution gave impetus to the concept of religious freedom. The new federal government was almost completely divorced from formal religion. Some of the new state constitutions followed Virginia's lead and completely separated church and state. Even the state constitutions that did not go all the way but retained civil disabilities on Catholics guaranteed them complete freedom of worship. In separating or in laying the foundations for separating church and state these revolutionary constitutions prepared the way for later developments in our intellectual life that were of far-reaching significance. The way

<sup>6</sup> David Ramsay, *The History of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1789), II, 316.

democratic intellectual life, Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia was particularly outspoken. "The business of education," observed this distinguished physician, "has acquired a new complexion by the independence of our country. The form of government we have assumed, has created a new class of duties to every American."<sup>9</sup> If republicanism was to succeed, youth must be trained in public schools in the Christian religion, in patriotism, in civic understanding, in practical skills, and in physical culture. Thomas Jefferson was even more explicit. In 1779 he proposed a state plan of education which would have given every child in Virginia an elementary schooling in locally managed public schools. The most promising boys were to enjoy further training in academies and colleges, the poorer ones being provided with scholarships for that purpose. By such a selective process Jefferson hoped that the genuine talents of boys of the poorer class might be developed and utilized for public service. Washington, Hamilton, and Madison all approved the scheme for a national university that would enable talented young men, whatever their economic circumstances, to advance knowledge through research and to receive training for public service. Before the end of the century programs for a democratic education suited to American needs were developed in a series of essays submitted for a prize offered by the American Philosophical Society for the best educational plan for the Republic.

Most proponents of a democratic culture included within its scope the education of girls, whose opportunities for study had been so circumscribed in the colonial period and were still similarly circumscribed both in America and in Europe. In 1783 the Reverend Timothy Dwight, who trenchantly criticized the superficial character of the education meted out to girls of the more favored class, removed to Greenfield Hill, Connecticut, where he opened a school that trained girls as well as boys in college preparatory subjects. About the same time another pioneer in the education of girls, Caleb Bingham, opened a school for girls in Boston. The general feeling among cultural patriots and democrats was that mothers exerted a profound influence on their sons during the impressionable years, and that they should for that reason, if for no other, be sufficiently trained in history, civics, and related fields to enable them to mold the characters and minds of the future officeholders and voters of the nation. Even more truly democratic was the application of the

<sup>9</sup> Benjamin Rush, "Of the Mode of Education in a Republic," *Essays, Literary, Moral, and Philosophical* (Philadelphia, 1798), 6-7.

Let us, I beg of you, Fellow Citizens, no longer meanly follow the British intricate mode of reckoning. Let them have their way, and us, ours. . . . Their mode is suited to the genius of their government, for it seems to be the policy of tyrants, to keep their accounts in as intricate and perplexing a method as possible; that the smaller number of their subjects may be able to estimate their enormous impositions and exactions. But Republican money ought to be simple and adapted to the meanest capacity.<sup>12</sup>

If the fine arts and esthetic values were to have a valid and vital place in the life of the Republic they had, it was widely believed, to be related to the common life. Washington, who dearly loved the theater, justified it not on the ground of sheer beauty of the drama or pure enjoyment but on the score that it would "advance the interest of private and public virtue . . . and have a tendency to polish the manners and habits of society." Franklin held that in the existing stage of American development a schoolmaster was worth a dozen poets and that a taste for the arts should not be generally cultivated until the means for its indulgence existed. "Nothing is good or beautiful," he wrote, "but in the measure that it is useful: yet all things have a utility under particular circumstances. Thus poetry, painting, music (and the stage as their embodiment) are all necessary and proper gratifications of a refined state of society but objectionable at an earlier period, since their cultivation would make a taste for the enjoyment precede its means." In commenting on the Declaration of Independence as a literary document Jefferson maintained that its chief merit lay in the fact that, while it drew upon difficult and subtle literary sources, it communicated commonly shared beliefs. This idea that the arts are intimately related to the society from which they spring and on which they rest was frequently to be shunted aside and overlooked; but it was characteristically American and continued to enjoy popular approval even when patricians and intellectuals denied or condemned it.

In the field of music the democratic conception of culture found expression in the establishment of popular singing schools and in the vogue of musical forms dear to simple rural folk. William Billings, the Boston tanner, was a leader in this movement, as was Oliver Holden, a Charleston carpenter. In Philadelphia Andrew Adgate, the son of simple people, projected in 1786 a great choral concert with singers from every social rank in which simple antique modes with gapped scales ("solfa"

<sup>12</sup> Erasmus Root, *An Introduction to Arithmetic for the Use of the Common Schools* (Norwich, Conn., 1796), Preface.

it will be recalled, possessed and read almanacs, the Bible, and perhaps a book or two of sermons. But in general the great majority of farmers, mechanics, longshoremen, fishermen, and small shopkeepers had acquired only a very elementary introduction to book knowledge and on the whole felt little need of an acquaintance with more than the tool subjects of reading, writing, and figuring.

To such learning as the plain people possessed the Revolution itself made some contribution. Military service acquainted many with parts of the country other than their own. Even those who did not read the patriotic broadsides and pamphlets which were scattered everywhere listened at taverns to heated discussions of monarchy and of the right of the people to resist tyranny. In New England the Congregational clergy popularized such ideas in sermons and cited the authority and reasoning of Locke, Harrington, Milton, and Sidney. The Revolution enriched folk culture by occasioning and popularizing such marching songs as "Yankee Doodle" and ballads celebrating patriotic heroes and heroines. Altogether it is likely that the plain people merited the judgment of Johann David Schoepf, the German geologist and physician, that the great majority of ordinary Americans, despite their indifference to book learning, possessed a good natural understanding and manifested "a better expression of their understanding than people of the same rank in Europe."<sup>14</sup> There was a basis for this in colonial experience, but the Revolution accentuated it.

Occasionally a spokesman for the plain people expressed himself in print on the issue of intellectual democracy. In the preface to *Reason the Only Oracle of Man* (1784) Ethan Allen, a Vermont revolutionist and farmer, took it for granted that he had as good a "natural right to expose himself to public censure, by endeavoring to subserve mankind, as any of the species who have published their productions since the Creation." Completely confident of the right of an ordinary man to have his say in the realms of higher knowledge, Allen asked no favor at the hands of philosophers, divines, or orators.

Before the end of the century another New England farmer, William Manning, put his ideas on a shared culture into crude but vigorous idiom. "Laming is of the greatest importance to the report of a free government, and to prevent this the few are always crying up the advan-

<sup>14</sup> Johann D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation* (W. J. Campbell, 1911), II, 212.

common people, of plain sense, may understand." In view of such prejudices it is probable that many of the plain folk paid little or no attention to the demands for universal participation in the higher intellectual interests of the favored classes.

The plain people suspected those who demanded state support for the theater on the ground that America should be less dependent on Europe for "genius, wit, and refinement." Their spokesmen feared that a government-supported theater, such as was proposed in Pennsylvania in 1785, might become a dangerous tool in the hands of conservatives, and that in any case the drama might blind the citizenry to its political responsibilities. That such fears were groundless subsequent events demonstrated. Royall Tyler's *The Contrast* (1787) satirized aristocracy and glorified the simplicity and virtue of the agrarian hero, our first stage Yankee. In 1789 New York City witnessed the first play by William Dunlap, a democrat who berated aristocratic patronage and viewed the drama as an effective instrument for the improvement of society.

### Nationalism in Intellectual Life

Although a sharp line separated social radicals from social conservatives on matters involving intellectual democracy, the two groups were united in support of cultural nationalism. This idea was shared in greater or less measure by all members of the learned class save those who regretted, openly or secretly, that the colonies had embarked upon and won the struggle for independence from England—a large number, to be sure. The self-consciousness that had become increasingly articulate in the later decades of the colonial era not only had contributed to the movement for independence but was in turn greatly heightened by the Revolution.

In establishing a confederation and finally a federal capital the Revolution brought together periodically some of the best minds of all the states, together with the representatives of foreign powers, and thus provided new facilities for the interchange of ideas and for the development of the spirit of American nationalism. But nothing contributed as much to the growth of cultural nationalism as the fact that Americans ceased thinking of themselves as citizens of the British Empire. Learned colonists had participated in the cultural life of various countries on the

new academies bearing the family name of their donor, Phillips, were already attracting students from distant parts. Dickinson College was launched in Pennsylvania in 1783, and St. John's at Annapolis was reorganized as a college the next year. Within the decade the Episcopalians established Washington College in Maryland and the College of Charleston in South Carolina; the Presbyterians founded, in addition to Dickinson, Hampden-Sydney in Virginia (1782) and Transylvania Seminary in Lexington, Kentucky (1785). In 1784 Judge Tapping Reeve formally opened at Litchfield, Connecticut, a law school that was to become nationally celebrated for its method of instruction through moot courts, and for its distinguished pupils. New schools for girls marked by a more serious educational purpose were also founded with increasing frequency. National pride contributed to the rapid restoration of the older colleges that had suffered so much devastation during the war.

Perhaps the most striking evidence of the feeling that an independent nation should play a larger role in promoting knowledge was the establishment of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston in 1780. The membership included leading patriots. The object of the Academy was

to promote and encourage the knowledge of antiquities in America, and of the natural history of the country, and to determine the uses to which the various natural productions of the country may be applied; to promote and encourage medical discoveries, mathematical disquisitions, philosophical inquiries and experiments, astronomical, meteorological, and geographical observations, and improvements in agriculture, arts, manufacture, and commerce, and, in fine, to cultivate every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, honor, dignity, and happiness of a free, independent and virtuous people.<sup>17</sup>

The members of the Academy listened regularly to papers on mathematics, astronomy, electricity, geography, chemistry, agriculture, and the mechanical and medical arts; and after 1785, when the first volume of the Academy's memoirs was published, the general public was enabled to share these contributions.

Such enterprise was by no means confined to New England. Prominent Virginians lent material aid to Quesnay de Beaurepaire, who was promoting the Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts in this country and

<sup>17</sup> *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (Boston, 1785), I, 3-4.

else. The young poet further refused to take too seriously the warning that in a small and poor country there was no likelihood that a man of letters could exist without a patron. Barlow pictured the role of the poet in the new America as one of importance.

Foreign observers confirmed the cultural nationalists in their conviction that America possessed the material and human resources for intellectual leadership. The German Johann Schoepf, who served King George during the Revolution, thought at its conclusion that in time geniuses in America would measure themselves with those of the Old World. On completing a three-year residence in the United States, the Marquis de Chastellux said in 1782: "Doubt not, Sir, that America will render herself illustrious by the sciences, as well as by her arms, and government. The extent of her empire submits to her observation a large portion of heaven and earth. What observations may not be made between Penobscot and Savannah? Between the lakes and the ocean?"<sup>18</sup>

The conviction that political freedom nourished intellectual genius contributed more to the optimism of the patriots who proclaimed the future triumph of culture in America than did European assurances. As early as 1771 Philip Freneau and H. H. Brackenridge, in their commencement ode at the College of New Jersey, prophesied of the Muses:<sup>19</sup>

Hither they wing their way, the last, the best  
Of countries, where the arts shall rise and grow,  
And arms shall have their day—Even now we boast  
A *Franklin*, prince of all philosophy . . .  
This is a land of every joyous sound,  
Of liberty and life, sweet liberty!  
Without whose aid the noblest genius fails,  
And Science irretrievably must die.

This belief that a free republic was the chief nursery of genius, a belief which was in part based on the analogy of the classical cultures of Greece and Rome, overlooked the fact that contributions to knowledge had been and were being made in despotic Europe. Nevertheless, this view continued to be a favorite theme of commencement orators. In 1797 Joseph Perkins, in his Harvard "part," declared that native endowments best flourish where "the eagle genius is at full liberty to expand

<sup>18</sup> Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North-America* (Dublin, 1787), II, 376-377.

<sup>19</sup> Frederick L. Pattee (ed.), *The Poems of Philip Freneau*, 3 vols. (Princeton University Library, 1902), I, 74.

scholarship in America had to concern itself with the American scene. American geography received increased attention. Decade by decade more and more light had been thrown on the great hinterland stretching west from the line of settlements along the tidewater of the Atlantic coast. Dr. John Mitchell, the Virginia naturalist, had made in 1746 what has been designated as the most important map in our history because of its role in many boundary and diplomatic controversies. Thanks to the hardy pioneers and the interest of land speculators in the trans-Allegheny country, explorers and map makers were adding to the knowledge of that vast domain. In 1755 the Pennsylvanian Lewis Evans published his geographical essays, which with their accompanying maps marked an important increase in the knowledge of a considerable part of British America. Valuable information was also made available as the result of the western explorations of Daniel Boone, Jonathan Carver, John Filson, Thomas Hutchins, and others.

One result of the pride that the Revolution stimulated among the citizens of the several states was the preparation of geographical surveys of the states. The best of these by far was Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, a comprehensive treatise on the topography, natural history, and natural resources of the largest state. Hearsay and fancy melted before the scientific procedure that Jefferson had employed in collecting his data. His book not only increased knowledge about the Old Dominion but induced others to make similar surveys for other states. Moreover, the *Notes on Virginia* assumed special significance in contemporary eyes because of Jefferson's able refutation of the claims of such distinguished European scientists as DePauw, Buffon, and others, who had held that a less favorable physical environment in America dwarfed the representatives of all species common to the Old World and the New. By the end of the eighteenth century virtually all states possessed maps and geographical surveys of considerable accuracy, although none enjoyed the distinction of *Notes on Virginia*.

In spite of the fact that Arrowsmith's map of the United States was a noteworthy contribution to cartography, the country was without a good general map when the nineteenth century began. Indeed, the status of map making was so low and the gaps in geographical knowledge so many at the end of the colonial era that existing maps of America were, by present-day standards, hardly worthy of the name. So scanty was the knowledge of the great domain west of the Mississippi that Imlay, an



on the north the river St. Lawrence, and a chain of august lakes, form a natural boundary. Within these limits marked by invariable lines, and abundantly extensive for the purposes of one empire, do we not find a variety of climate and of soil, and a rich diversity of productions, sufficient for all the conveniences and elegancies of life?"<sup>26</sup>

With the growing spell of the Romantic movement in the last decade of the century both foreign visitors and native Americans celebrated with new fervor the esthetic beauties of the American landscape and noted its unique character. The year after independence was won, the Reverend Jeremy Belknap called attention to the grandeur and dignity of the White Mountains; and President Dwight of Yale, who began his extensive tours of New England and New York in 1797, boasted that nowhere else could such variety of landscape be found. "Neither the poet nor the painter can here be ever at a loss for scenery to employ the pen or pencil." But celebrations of the American landscape were not confined to specific regions. William Bartram's *Travels* described unique features in the landscape of several states, and Joel Barlow's *Vision of Columbus* with its rhapsodic lines on America's magnificent rivers, stupendous mountains, broad savannahs, and picturesque woodlands was definitely nationalistic.

The interest that colonists had taken in the provincial past was greatly enhanced by patriotism released by the Revolution. Although Ebenezer Hazard's scheme for collecting and publishing a "Documentary History of the Revolution" was not carried to completion, the patriotism aroused by the struggle against England was vigorously reflected in the histories of the Revolution that came from the pen of Dr. David Ramsay of South Carolina. Before the end of the century John Marshall was culling the ever-increasing literature on the "father of his country" in preparation for his *Life of Washington*. In spite of its Federalist bias and lack of originality, it became a classic. Others who, like Gouverneur Morris, had been associated with the recent struggle wrote memoirs. In part as a result of his American experience the Reverend William Gordon prepared his history of the Revolution.

The most praiseworthy achievements in American historiography were the histories inspired by state pride and influenced by Jeremy Bel-

<sup>26</sup> John B. Johnson, *An Oration on Union, delivered in the New Dutch Church in the City of New-York on the Twelfth Day of May, 1794* (New York, 1794), 6.

Barlow celebrated in reality demonstrated the close ties between American and European culture.

The Revolution did not democratize American intellectual life or establish the uniquely American culture about which patriots boasted and dreamed. But it did focus attention on a cultural program. If pressed to admit the intellectual dependence of America on Europe, such patriots as Dr. Benjamin Rush would have replied that the Revolution had not ended. In an address delivered in 1787 this pioneer psychiatrist developed in some detail the idea of the unfinished Revolution. "It remains yet to establish and perfect our new forms of government; and to prepare the principles, morals, and manners of our citizens, for these forms of government, after they are established and brought to perfection."<sup>27</sup> Similar views were advanced by British and French disciples of the Enlightenment, who saw in the American Revolution a significant chapter in that pattern of thought. Richard Price, an English liberal, rejoiced that the American Revolution, in opening a new prospect in human affairs, would so leaven the world that the sacred blessings of liberty and humanity would spread until they became universal. Condorcet, in his *Influence of the American Revolution on Europe* (1786) praised as pioneer steps toward freedom the American separation of church and state, the republican form of government, and the devotion to antimilitarism. He saw in our enlightened citizenry a token of America's promise to accelerate progress both in America itself and throughout the whole world.

The development of American thought during the Revolution illustrated dramatically the manner in which political, economic, and social changes affect the life of the mind. On the most basic level, the disruption of the agencies of intellectual life—libraries, printing establishments, churches, colleges—discouraged many scholarly, literary, and scientific pursuits. Men of talent often had to turn from the laboratory or the classroom to tasks connected with the conduct of the war. Where the frontiers of knowledge did make rapid advances, as in the field of military medicine, it was usually as a result of some concrete aspect of the war. More indirectly, the Revolution and its political and social results worked a deep and significant change in the nature of American thought. The related ideas of intellectual democracy and cultural nation-

<sup>27</sup> Benjamin Rush, "An Address to the People of the United States," in Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution* (Baltimore, 1822), 402.

# 7 The Expanding Enlightenment

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*The foundation of our Empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epoch when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period: Researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent; the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages, and legislators, thro' a long succession of years, are laid open for use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government.*

—GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1783

Though challenged at every point, the ideas of the Enlightenment nevertheless gained ground during the war years and in the decades that followed. Not until the last years of the century, when Federalism dominated the political and in a large measure the intellectual life of the land, did the Enlightenment face a really serious threat. Only then was it doubtful whether the philosophy of natural rights, deism, humani-

quicken. This secularization found expression in that worldliness against which devout men and women vehemently protested, in the growth of anticlericalism, and in the movement for separation of church and state. But the association of Americans with French rationalists who had come to help the colonies in the revolt against Britain or whose writings enjoyed vogue also fanned the fame of militant deism. The adamant resistance of the clergy, in both France and America, to the ideals of the French Revolution confirmed its American sympathizers in their opposition to the supernatural doctrines on which the power of the clergy rested. But the spread of deism among the American masses, even under these favorable circumstances, would scarcely have made such headway as it did without the appearance of new leaders and new methods for spreading the doctrine.

In the early period of the American Enlightenment many deists had hesitated to espouse the cause openly lest they forfeit the approval of those more conservative than themselves. They feared that deism might open the gates to social unrest and equalitarianism by undermining the social control of the masses provided by orthodox religion. But because of the new democratic spirit released by the revolution at home and further stimulated by that in France, deists appeared who took positive joy in spreading their ideas among the masses. Since periodicals and newspapers did not reach the rank and file, new organs appeared which were popular in appeal and specifically dedicated to the cause of winning the people. Enthusiastic deists inaugurated popular societies for spreading the cult and undertook missionary journeys up and down the land. Readable tracts also proved a promising method for taking deism to the people.

The first militantly deistic work from the pen of an American appeared in 1784 under the title *Reason the Only Oracle of Man*. Although the book was nominally the work of the notorious Green Mountain rebel, Ethan Allen, probably a considerable part of this lively if somewhat crudely executed polemic was actually written by Dr. Thomas Young, a patriotic physician whom Allen had known in Connecticut. The book found few readers; perhaps this was because a fire destroyed all but thirty copies of the first and only edition (an act of God, the orthodox piously held). Yet the revolutionary prestige of its author made it well known, and the diatribes of the orthodox, typical of which are the lines from Timothy Dwight's *Triumph of Infidelity*, familiarized many with its existence:

man's divine gift of reason but also with the knowledge that man gains about the power and wisdom of God through the scientific study of the universe. In advancing his arguments against Christian cosmology, theology, and ethics, Paine popularized the long line of English anticlerical and rationalistic thinkers. Holding the account in Genesis to be merely an Israelite myth, he insisted that it was possible to know through reason that the universe was created by God, not as a showman whimsically performing his tricks but as a First Cause working through the laws of nature. Only if religion were purified by eliminating its myths, only if it completely dissociated itself from political systems, could it render its truly ennobling functions; only then could it aid rather than fetter man in his struggle for freedom and fraternity.

*The Age of Reason* was scattered the length and breadth of the land. Newspapers advertised it, together with the counterblasts that conservatives wrote to overthrow it. Bishop Mead of Virginia found even Parson Weems selling the heretical tract at the tavern in Fairfax County Courthouse. The democratic clubs and the deistical societies used it as a textbook. College students swallowed it whole, to the great alarm of their preceptors; and humble men in villages from New Hampshire to Georgia and beyond the Alleghenies discussed it by tavern candlelight. The storm of criticism which the book brought forth for the time only seemed to feed the fire, nor did the epithets cast on Paine slow down the conflagration. He was abused as a filthy atheist, a dissolute drunkard, a malignant blasphemer, a superficial reasoner. Believing him guilty of spreading a damnable heresy among the people, the orthodox overlooked his earlier services to American freedom and vilified him without stint. When he returned to America in 1802, he was well received by those who had come under his spell, but the tide had turned in favor of conservatism. His last years were impoverished, lonely, and wretched.

Another example of the more brilliant type of deism was the book by the French savant Volney entitled *Ruins: Or A Survey Of The Revolution Of Empires* (1791). This was an oversimplified examination of comparative religions that rejected all supernatural accounts on the ground that it was impossible to know which religion possessed the truth. It was anticlerical in tone and critical of most of the theological and certain ethical doctrines of the New Testament. The *Ruins* was translated by Jefferson and Joel Barlow, and enjoyed a popularity that was promoted even further by Volney's sojourn in the United States.

Since deism was associated with equalitarianism, above all with the "infidel" and "materialistic" doctrines and practices of the French revolutionists, any support that it found in high places in the young Republic provoked the wrath and bitterness of the standpatters. Thus Federalists welcomed the diatribes of the orthodox New England clergy in the presidential campaign of 1800. Hostile clergy declared that Jefferson had so thoroughly subscribed to French infidelity that his election to the Presidency would result in the confiscation of every Bible in New England! Jefferson had, in fact, been influenced by deistic thought, but he had never lent open aid to militant deism. He had come to feel that the teachings of Jesus were superior to those of any other leader and that the church, if purified of corruptions of dogma and of its tie-up with politics, might serve useful ends. His position, in short, was closer to Unitarianism than to the extreme doctrines of infidelity with which the conservative clergy charged him.

### Universalism and Unitarianism

If in general the substantial groups in society did not openly favor deism, especially after men in humble walks of life responded to its appeal or seemed to be on the point of doing so, rationalistic and humane versions of Christianity did make headway among well-to-do people, especially in New England.

Spokesmen in New England for the new liberal theology were a group of ministers known in the eighteenth century as "Aminians," led by Charles Chauncy and Jonathan Mayhew. Chauncy was a Lockean in his conception of human nature, and he was firmly committed to the idea of progress. Intelligent beings, he wrote, "are continually going on, while they suitably employ and improve their original faculties, from one degree of attainment to another; and, hereupon, from one degree of happiness to another, without end." The liberal theologians did not hold man in contempt, as did the older Calvinists, but exalted him, chiefly because of his reason. "It is by our reason that we are exalted above the beasts of the field," Mayhew preached. "It is by this that we are allied to the angels, and all the glorious intelligences of the heavenly world: yea, by this we resemble God himself."<sup>1</sup> As they praised reason and

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Conrad Wright, *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America* (Start King Press, 1955) 138.

and other towns, and with the appointment of Henry Ware as Hollis professor of divinity at Harvard (1805), Unitarianism became a force with which orthodoxy had to reckon.

In the place that Unitarians made for revelation and even for miracles they were at odds with the deists and indeed with the leading exponents of the Enlightenment. But in emphasizing the iraportance of reason as an instrument for discovering the true meanings of God, in setting great store on conscience as authority and on freedom of inquiry, the early Unitarians were children of the Age of Reason. The spell of the Enlightenment was also evident in their conviction that human nature is divine and that man is therefore too good to be damned. These attitudes, together with their rejection of authoritarianism and terrorism in religion, were exemplified in the opening hymn of Jeremy Belknap's collection (1795), so popular in Unitarian circles:

Absurd and vain attempt to bind  
With iron chains, the freeborn mind!  
To force conviction, and reclaim  
The wandering, by destructive flame!

The tendency of the early Unitarians to separate theory from social action, their emphasis on thought rather than on feeling, and their somewhat mechanical, logical habit of weighing texts suggested some of the limitations of the Enlightenment. But the moral and ethical teachings of the Scotch philosophers and the intuitionist inspirationalism of Coleridge and the Kantian idealists were ultimately, through the agency of William Ellery Channing, to lead to new revolts within the Unitarian ranks. That, however, is a later story. Meantime the new faith satisfied the upper classes who were its principal but by no means only adherents.

## Materialism

More characteristic of the full-blown European Enlightenment than the mild rationalism of Unitarianism was the general materialistic philosophy. This assumed that the universe could be adequately explained in terms of the existence and nature of matter. Although Cadwallader Colden, who combined an interest in medicine, science, and philosophy with high office in colonial New York, had approached the materialistic

his *Medical Inquiries and Observations Upon the Diseases of the Mind*.

A far greater number of Americans glimpsed some small part of the materialistic outlook in the *Thanatopsis* (1811) of William Cullen Bryant. Only three years before writing this famous poem Bryant had shared the orthodox Calvinism dominant in his community at Cummington, Massachusetts; but he had come under the influence of Unitarianism, deism, and the pantheism and stoicism of the classics. In *Thanatopsis* the grave is not the road to immortality but the means by which man is united with the vast, timeless, and insensate universe:

Yet a few days, and thee  
The all-beholding sun shall see no more  
In all his course; nor yet in the cold ground,  
Where thy pale form was laid, with many tears,  
Nor in the embrace of ocean, shall exist  
Thy image. Earth, that nourished thee, shall claim  
Thy growth, to be resolved to earth again,  
And, lost each human trace, surrendering up  
Thine individual being, shall thou go  
To mix forever with the elements,  
To be a brother to the insensible rock  
And to the sluggish clod, which the rude swain  
Turns with his share, and treads upon. The oak  
Shall send his roots abroad, and pierce thy mould.

True, shortly after writing the poem, Bryant emphasized in his subsequent verse the Unitarian conception of an all-powerful, all-knowing Nature identifiable with God, which guided not only the waterfowl from zone to zone in the boundless sky but man's own steps no less.

### Environmentalism and Its Implications

Less offensive to faith than materialism, dispensing as it did with the First Cause in the explanation of the cosmos and of body-mind relationships, was the doctrine that the natural and social environment profoundly influences human nature. The older Calvinistic idea of the essential vileness of human nature was repudiated, it will be recalled, by such liberal theologians as Charles Chauncy, who insisted on the divine nature of mankind. It was also attacked by the Universalists and Uni-



women were incapable of great achievement was dismissed as a chimera of darkness and prejudice. After having read *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* in the English edition, Aaron Burr remarked in a letter to his wife that woman was capable of the greatest genius and that her deficiencies were to be laid at the door of inadequate education. He straightway embarked on the task of applying these ideas to the education of his daughter Theodosia. At ten she was introduced to Greek; and soon she was reading Terence and Lucian. Enos Hitchcock, a Rhode Island clergyman and educator, refused to accept Rousseau's view that women are an inferior species, and Hannah Adams, the Massachusetts historian, implied that environment had much to do with the inferior achievements of women in many areas of life; woman, she contended, was made not out of man's heel to be trampled upon but out of his side to be equal to him. If this trampling ceased she would rise to the level that nature had intended her to enjoy.

Even wider publicity was given to the new feministic ideas by Charles Brockden Brown. This pioneer American novelist declared that since circumstances molded human beings, who were inherently or innately all of a piece, "the differences that flow from the sexual distinction are as nothing in the balance." In *Alcuin* (1797) this exponent of democracy and of enlightenment pleaded for the legal, political, economic, and cultural freedom of women, and in *Clara Howard* the new independent-minded woman appeared to advantage.

Soil favorable to the growth of these relatively new ideas was present in these postrevolutionary days. Liberal ideas in general were abroad, but special conditions favored a growing appreciation of women's ability. The economic importance of women in a new society where labor was scarce and large families were necessary helped to raise them in the esteem of society. Further there was a growing conviction that women as molders of youth needed to be educated in citizenship, if the republican experiment were to succeed. This position was advanced by Dr. Benjamin Rush in his *Thoughts on Female Education* (1787); it anticipated similar arguments expounded during the following decade in plans for a national system of education suited to a democratic republic. And in real life at least a few women proved that their sex was capable of intellectual achievement. Such women as Abigail Adams, Mercy Warren, Margaret Winthrop, and Martha Ramsay were familiar with many of the great works in theology, religion, and philosophy, with the classics,

characteristics of the Negro furnished philanthropic slaveowners ideological grounds for emancipating slaves, who in many cases, to be sure, had become a burden rather than an asset.

The vogue of such an environmentalist theory of Negro nature must not be overemphasized. In observing the superiority of the children of mixed unions, Jefferson himself, who was an excellent representative of the Enlightenment, favored the doctrine of the original mental inferiority, perhaps even the separate origin, of the blacks.

Striking an environmentalist note similar to that of Samuel Stanhope Smith, a Philadelphia physician, Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, argued on the ground of his pioneer studies of Indian languages that the peoples of America and those of Asia had a common origin. He also contended that the physical differences between red and white men are in fact inconsiderable, and that varying environments account for the superiority in the arts and crafts displayed at different times by different peoples. The implication of such an environmentalist doctrine, which many of its exponents held explicitly, was that the white man who had despoiled the Indian should teach him the ways of civilization so that he might enjoy with white men "the desired inheritance." Thus the older missionary ideal of Christianizing the Indian was consciously enlarged to include the bestowal of all the virtues of an enlightened culture. In contrast to this position was the romantic idealization of the red man as a noble savage who in his natural primitive state exemplified dignity, innocence, and bliss. Most Americans, to be sure, were little influenced in their views on the aborigines either by the environmentalist theory so dear to the Age of Reason or by that of the rising Romantic school which engaged many literary men.

### Humanitarianism

The humanitarianism which arose in the later colonial period, and to which the environmentalists' tenets contributed, advanced notably during the Revolution and the succeeding years. In part this was related to the natural rights philosophy of the Revolution, which implied the impropriety of holding slaves, imprisoning honest debtors, and meting out cruel punishments to unfortunate criminals. It reflected the even more comprehensive spirit of the Enlightenment—the belief that human

the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of the Public Prisons, the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1790 took important steps toward the reform of prison conditions. The new laws required the classification of criminals, private cells, adequate clothing, religious teaching, and protection from thievery and extortion at the hands of their keepers. At least four states, prompted by the distress induced by the unsettled currency and the misfortune that the tide of speculation had caused many respectable people, ameliorated their laws respecting imprisonment for debt.

### The Idea of Progress

The idea of progress, inherent in the environmentalist theory, found congenial soil in the colonies. Freneau and Raynal spoke for many Americans and Europeans who saw in the uncontaminated wilderness beyond the frontier the ideal setting for a new type of society in which both the poverty and the artificialities and inequalities of a settled society should be abolished. The final blow which the Revolution struck to such feudal relics as primogeniture, entail, union of church and state, and monarchism, as well as the humbling of the aristocracy, invited faith in Utopianism, as did the idealized versions of the Revolution which emanated from such European radicals as Richard Price, Condorcet, and Brissot de Warville. These men saw in our struggle for independence, and later in the French Revolution, an immense impetus to the universal abolition of war, poverty, priestcraft, absolutism, feudalism, and all the special privileges that violate the dignity and equality of mankind. And the prophecies by Godwin and Condorcet of a future Eden rising through science and technology awakened response in the new Republic.

The belief in the perfectibility of human nature and of social institutions found concrete expression in Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791) and his *Agrarian Justice* (1796). These argued for a continuous reaffirmation by each generation of the original compact by which men established government. In this way government could be kept pure and responsive to the sovereign will of an enlightened people expressed through its majority. Within our grasp, Paine further contended, lay a political economy that could abolish poverty and provide security for the aged through graduated inheritance taxes and ground rents; thus society would receive back what it had created. The security of all would

which may be carried, in a thousand years, the Power of Man over Matter. We may perhaps learn to deprive large Masses of their Gravity and give them absolute Levity, for the sake of easy Transport. Agriculture may diminish its Labour and double its produce; all Diseases may by sure means be prevented if not cured, not excepting Old Age, and our Lives lengthened at pleasure even beyond the antediluvian Standard."<sup>3</sup>

No other American expressed so unqualified a faith in the idea of progress and in this country's relation to it as did Joel Barlow. He began his literary career as an associate of the Hartford Wits, whose verse showered satire on all leveling tendencies, but he became a convert to militant democracy during his residence abroad. The development of Barlow's rationalism, humanitarianism, and utilitarianism and the closely related doctrine of progress is revealed by contrasting *The Vision of Columbus* (1787) with the revised and elaborated *Columbiad* (1809). In the former he delineated human history in orthodox fashion, subscribed to the Scottish common-sense distrust of abstract reason, and viewed progress in theological, passive terms. In *The Columbiad*, on the other hand, Barlow now argued that progress could be realized only through effort, and that democracy, science, and a rationalistic, humane education provided the key to that realization. Highly republican and nationalistic in tone and completely in tune with the ideas of the Enlightenment, *The Columbiad* indicted the feudal remnants in civilization, glorified the perfectibility of human nature and institutions, and argued for the application of scientific method in morals and government as the most certain means of opening the door to unlimited good. America was set apart by Providence itself for this world mission:<sup>4</sup>

For here great nature with a bolder hand,  
Roll'd the broad stream and heaved the lifted hand;  
And here, from finisht earth, triumphant trod,  
The last ascending steps of her creating God.

The decadence of ancient nations, largely the result of war, poverty, and the privileged status of the arts, would find no parallel in America, which was to end war by bringing the nations together in a league of peace and to inaugurate a democratic humanism by elevating everyone to enjoy the highest level of comfort, beauty, and knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> Albert H. Smythe (ed.), *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia, 1905-1907), VIII, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Joel Barlow, *The Columbiad* (Philadelphia, 1809), I, 39.

standing of psychological and social forces the historian might enable Americans to direct their future course more certainly along the path of progress.<sup>5</sup>

Political measures appealed to others as the best way to overcome threats to progress. Convinced that progress was merely a chimera if Federalist policies were unchecked, John Taylor of Caroline, Virginia, called on agrarian America to mobilize against the menace of chartered banks, protective tariffs, and moneyed corporations. In his *Enquiry into the Principles and Tendency of Certain Public Measures* (1794) Taylor attacked these rising institutions as instruments of the moneyed aristocracy for exploiting other classes. In subsequent writings this economic realist warned his fellow citizens that unless corporations were checked they would erect a new moneyed aristocracy that would sink America to the level of former aristocracies.

### The Vogue of the Modern Languages and Literatures

While it would be too much to say that the classics were disparaged by all the disciples of the idea of progress and the Enlightenment, they unquestionably did hold a less important place in the liberal climate of opinion of the late eighteenth century than they had once held. Jefferson, who so well exemplified the Enlightenment, continued to find inspiration in the classics, and Franklin himself looked with greater favor on them in later life; but Dr. Benjamin Rush was more representative of the American exponents of the Enlightenment. Writing in 1791, Rush declared that the emphasis the classics had received explained in large measure the prejudice which the masses felt for institutions of learning. So long as Latin and Greek remained the only avenues to education, universal diffusion of knowledge beyond the bare rudiments was impossible. In a new country where the chief task was to explore and develop natural resources, education should be functional to the main concern. "Under these circumstances, to spend four or five years in learning two dead languages, is to turn our backs upon a gold mine, in order to amuse ourselves catching butterflies." If the time spent on Latin and Greek were devoted to science, continued this champion of

<sup>5</sup> Nathaniel Chipman, *Sketches of the Principles of Government* (Rutland, Vermont, 1793), 31-33.

Colonial Americans had always taken pride in the fact that they could participate in the glories of English letters, and the favored classes even in the seventeenth century read more widely than has been supposed. But the rise of literary circles in the postrevolutionary years was indicative of a new type of interest in letters. These groups gossiped about living English writers, read their works as they appeared, went back and familiarized themselves with earlier authors, and tried their own hand at imitating the prevalent literary forms. In fact, to judge from the space devoted to belles-lettres in newspapers and from book inventories, advertisements, and library lists, the vogue for literary works was considerable. Even the colleges responded by paying greater attention to rhetoric and belles-lettres; the esthetic principles of such British authorities as Blair and Kames aroused attention in academic circles. At Yale the interest in English literature that was apparent on the eve of the Revolution continued; and in 1794 William Ellery Channing, on entering Harvard, found that undergraduates were passionately fond of Shakespeare who, it is true, was not yet recognized in the curriculum.

While the interest in modern English letters was largely fed by the importation of books from the British Isles, in Boston in the early 1790s two of Shakespeare's plays were printed for the first time in America; in 1795 the first complete American edition of Shakespeare, with an apology for the dramatist's morals and some textual criticism, began to issue from a Philadelphia press. Before the end of the century, a "speaker" included oratorical passages from Shakespeare. Thus with the decline of interest in the classics the body of humanistic English letters won increasing favor.

At least one voice pleaded for the elevation of everyday tasks to an esthetic level, for the eradication of the old aristocratic separation between beauty and use. Thomas Odiome, in *The Progress of Refinement* (1792), set forth a conception of a democratic esthetics characteristic of the American Enlightenment:

Let not America's aspiring sons,  
To independent greatness born, to arts  
Refined, and virtue eminent, deserve  
The imputation low of idle clowns.  
To make the towering forest to the axe  
Submit, to pile the enormous log, apply  
The fire, subdue and cultivate the land,  
In no mean labor of the ambitious swain . . .

auspices in 1804, greatly enlarged knowledge of the geography, geology, botany, zoology, and ethnography of the vast regions lately acquired from Napoleon.

American naturalists followed the investigations of European geologists. They were stimulated by the controversy over the origin of the surface of the earth waged by the Vulcanists, who contended that subterranean heat was responsible for the superficial structure of the earth, and the Neptunists, who maintained that the earth's surface had been built by successive deposits of rocks, the precipitates of a great primeval ocean. Both the Wernian or Neptunist and the Huttonian or Vulcanist theories assumed a catastrophic rather than an evolutionary origin of the earth's surface; nevertheless, as naturalistic explanations they reinforced the rationalists' insistence on the inadequacy of the Mosaic account of creation.

Americans in general contributed little to the Neptunist-Vulcanist controversy, but two men threw some light on the problem and in so doing strengthened a naturalistic interpretation of geological formations. In 1793 Benjamin De Witt, recognizing perhaps for the first time the phenomenon known as glacial drift, tried to explain the presence of various minerals on the shore of Lake Ontario by "some mighty convulsion of nature." He further remarked that perhaps "this vast lake may be considered as one of those great fountains of the deep which were broken up when our earth was deluged with water, thereby producing that confusion and disorder in the composition of its surface which evidently seems to exist." Jefferson, unable to explain in terms of Mosaic cosmogony the existence of marine fossils on the highest mountains of the American continents, preferred to follow the evidence of sense experience, measurement, and accurate calculation rather than to rely on Biblical authority. With other naturalists he also devoted much effort to the classification of elephant-like fossils discovered in several parts of the country—baffling witnesses of a prehistoric past which suggested that the earth was of greater antiquity than students who made their deductions from Biblical chronology thought.

In a less spectacular way the supernaturalistic conception of the earth was weakened by the accretions to the geological knowledge of America made by such investigators as Schopf and Volney, and by a company of American amateurs who sent to the learned societies specimens and descriptions of newly discovered oilstones, yellow and red pigments, and

seems to have aroused little interest in America, some of our naturalists, familiar as they were with the quasi-evolutionary conceptions of Leibnitz, Maupertuis, Diderot, and Buffon, must have had glimmerings of the developmental hypothesis. Jefferson, with his fossils strewn over a room of the American Philosophical Society and later over the White House, recognized that all beings had not been created to continue for all time. The origins of physical life occupied the specific attention of Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse of Harvard, who explained the beginnings of life in terms of "the principle of vitality" or "animation" (which in turn was related to the First Cause). The majority of American students no doubt accepted this a priori explanation; but in its studies of the phenomenon of drowning, the Massachusetts Humane Society, established in 1795, utilized the scientific method for investigating the nature of life and death.

In chemistry the eighteenth century witnessed a virtual revolution. Tables of chemical affinities, the first isolation of a gas, the discovery of new metals and acids, and the invention of instruments for precise measurement laid the foundations for the incalculably important contributions made toward the end of the century by French chemists, particularly Lavoisier. Rejecting the widely held phlogiston theory, which assumed that but one element, phlogiston, existing in combination with metals, was capable of combustion, the French chemists set down the metals as simple substances rather than combinations of substances and phlogiston. This capital contribution, together with the new nomenclature and the new table of chemical symbols, greatly accelerated chemical advance.

The coming of Joseph Priestley to Pennsylvania in 1794 on the one hand greatly stimulated the rising group of American chemists but on the other tended to retard the reception of the new French theories. Dr. Priestley, famous not only for his espousal of Unitarianism and of materialistic philosophy but for his discovery of oxygen and for other notable chemical contributions, endeared himself all the more to liberal Americans by virtue of the fact that he had been driven out of his own country by the wave of reactionary persecution. His experiments in his little laboratory at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, led to the discovery of carbon monoxide, the liberation of air from water, and increased knowledge about spontaneous combustion and the action of caustic alkalies on flint glass. Priestley, who proved to be a vigorous stimulus to other chem-



mental purposes many seeds and plants, including the olive, the cork oak, and an improved variety of rice. This versatile gentleman farmer's design in 1798 for "the first scientific basis for the curve of the mold-board" in the plow was notable because it symbolized the transition from trial-and-error invention to invention by scientific law. The growing interest in scientific farming also found expression in agricultural societies, which were established from 1785 on by merchants, professional men, and large landowners. These pioneer societies, in offering premiums for discoveries in plant and animal economy, were more akin to the learned academies of the eighteenth century than to popular farmers' organizations.

Americans of the early Republic also displayed ingenuity in applying scientific principles to inventions designed to control nature, promote human comfort, and make a profit. Shortly after independence was won, facilities for carding cotton and wool were improved by Oliver Evans' invention of a machine which in performing three functions broke a new path. Other pioneers were experimenting with the steamboat. On August 22, 1787, John Fitch sailed a twelve-side-paddle steamboat up the Delaware. John Stevens, whose attention was called to this boat, invented an improved vertical steam boiler and savery type of steam engine which, with other experiments in steam engineering, were to make him a pioneer in the development of a steam engine for railways. An equally significant invention was, of course, the cotton gin. By 1793 Eli Whitney, a guest on the Georgia plantation of General Nathanael Greene's widow, had produced a model of a cotton gin which, with the rivals it suggested, was presently enabling short-fiber cotton to be produced profitably on a large scale. This process was destined to rehabilitate the institution of slavery and to make possible the immense development of cotton textiles. Before the end of the century Whitney had formulated the principle of interchangeable parts of machinery in the manufacture of muskets at his factory near New Haven. This principle, which Samuel Colt, of arms-making fame, was later to develop, finally came to be one of the important reasons for the superiority of American technology. To what extent all these and other inventions would promote the ideals of the Enlightenment no contemporary could be sure; but its optimistic exponents felt that these advances in science and in its application augured well for their values. Meantime interests and ideas hostile to the Enlightenment were being asserted.

economic, social, and political arrangements centered in an attack on the French Revolution and alleged Jacobinism at home; positively a case was made for institutionalism, aristocracy, the continued restriction of suffrage to substantial property owners, and revealed religion.

Given ideas, whether liberal or conservative, were not sharply and precisely identified with particular social and economic groups. Some of the leaders of the people were, like Jefferson, large slaveowners and landowners. Some humble people in the cities and a great many in the villages and on the farms did not share democratic ideas at all. Professional men were divided, some siding with the champions of democracy or the Enlightenment or the French Revolution, some taking a conservative position in political and economic matters or in religion, or in both.

It is still true, however, that it was the substantial merchants and planters and the professional men most closely associated with them who were the chief critics of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, of Daniel Shays and Thomas Jefferson. The critics of many of the ideas associated with the Enlightenment enjoyed a large measure of political power in the years between the framing of the Constitution in 1787 and the election of Jefferson in 1800. The Jay Treaty of 1794 and the quasi-war against France represented political victories for conservative interest and ideas. The cause of democracy and the Enlightenment suffered even more from the Alien Act, which enabled the government to deport noisy agitators who had sought asylum from European reaction in America, and the Sedition Act, intended to silence the fulminations that American "Jacobins" directed against their Federalist foes. The victory of political liberalism in 1800 did not end the conservative criticism. Conservatives drew support from England, where the great Edmund Burke had forged a brilliant defense of the authority of the past, of institutionalism and legalism, of property rights, and of the rule of the substantial classes, and where Hannah More was representative of a great evangelical and pietistic pattern of thought.

The intellectual bulwarks erected by the conservatives to hold off the democrats were too strong to be taken even with Jefferson's entrance into the White House in 1801. Despite the political victory of the liberals and the encouragement President Jefferson gave to many values of the Enlightenment, the intellectual life of the nation remained in large measure in the hands of the conservatives and their sympathizers. True, forces were at work that slowly, imperceptibly, weakened the

upheaval in France with an understandable fear. A Harvard commencement orator of 1798, in referring to the French Revolution, declared that "it has in a manner annihilated society" by its subversive and violent temper. Even those favorably disposed toward its ideals were impressed by the incessant diatribes against the lust for blood displayed by its leaders. Lest America be sucked into the gory maelstrom, Thomas Green Fessenden, New England lawyer, journalist, and versifier, warned his readers in *Democracy Unveiled* (1805) to beware of all the French Revolution stood for:

Such principles, alas, will flood  
Columbia's "happy land" with blood,  
Unless kind Providence restrain  
These demons of the hurricane.

Richard Alsop, millionaire Connecticut merchant, a genial fellow among the Hartford Wits, wrote a mordant satire on the guillotine, and William Clifton delighted a Philadelphia literary club with his vivid descriptions in prose and verse of the French bloodletters' torment in hell while the beheaded Louis XVI basked in Elysium. The riotous factionalism which the Revolution engendered in France especially dismayed the conservatives, to whom order was as much a virtue as chaos and violence were evils. And the factionalism promoted in their very midst by the conduct of Genêt, the French emissary who appealed to the people over the government to enlist aid for France, only increased their dismay. In sharp contrast the conservatives painted a picture of the peace and order that had prevailed when the authority of the past prevented such violent overturns.

When violence was directed against property, American conservatives were stirred to wrath. The Federalists, protectors of commerce, were disgusted with agrarian attacks on "sound currency." For some of them were beginning to look forward with Hamilton to the glorious development of manufactures, so dependent on accumulated capital and peaceful markets. Fisher Ames spoke for the financial class when he lamented the waste and desolation that followed in the wake of revolution. "Capital, which used to be food for manufactures," he remarked, "is become their fuel. What once nourished industry, now lights the fires of civil war, and quickens the progress of destruction."<sup>1</sup> When the confiscatory policies of the French Revolution were inaugurated, John Adams insisted

<sup>1</sup> Seth Ames (ed.), *The Works of Fisher Ames* (Boston, 1854), II, 33.

central government, the argument ran, could suffice, since the passions of men do not and will not "conform to the dictates of reason and justice, without restraint." Madison, one of the authors of *The Federalist*, further emphasized "innate diversities in the faculties of men," from which, he argued, spring inequality of property and the consequent selfish strife of the less well-to-do for the possessions of those whom superior talents have blessed with greater wealth. Hamilton, in defending the thesis that government must be both strong and sensitive to the interests of the great property holders, emphasized even more baldly the theory of the innately unequal and selfish nature of man.

These arguments received classic expression in *The Defence of the Constitutions* and *Essays on Davila*. In these erudite and closely reasoned writings, John Adams attacked the equalitarianism of both American and French levelers as unrealistic and based on a false and untenable conception of human nature. In his eyes, "by the law of nature all men are men and not angels—men and not lions—men and not whales—men and not eagles, that is, they are all of the same species. But man differs by nature from man almost as man from beast. . . . A physical inequality, an intellectual inequality of the most serious kind is established unchangeably by the Author of nature; and society has a right to establish any other inequalities it may judge necessary and good." Far from being kindly and rational as the Utopian democrats assumed, man by nature is "so corrupt, so indolent, so selfish and jealous, that he is never good but through necessity."<sup>2</sup>

According to Adams, men are impelled not primarily by ideals, reason, and altruism but by a desire for goods; on one occasion he added sex expression. Democracy was therefore to his mind utterly unworkable and in fact the first step toward anarchy. Property had to be represented in government with due weight if the masses were to be restrained from controlling government and using that control to strip the well-to-do of their property—the chief insurance of liberty. The people had to be curbed, through this and other checks, from expressing their naturally selfish and turbulent passions of aggrandizement. On the other hand, Adams was both too logical and too realistic in his conception of human nature to assume that the well-to-do, if left to themselves to control government, could be depended on to act with justice toward the people. Governmental checks were needed to hold them in proper restraint.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1856), I, 462.

as Bache, Duane, and Freneau, exclaimed on one occasion, "O base democracy! Why, it is absolutely worse than street-sweepings, or the filth of the common sewers." One of his Philadelphia fellow apologists for aristocracy, Joseph Dennie, declared in 1803 in his periodical *The Port Folio* that a democracy, scarcely tolerable in any period, would in America issue in civil war, anarchy, desolation. "The institution of a scheme of policy so radically contemptible and vicious is a memorable example of what the villainy of some men can devise, the folly of others receive, and both establish in spite of reason, reflection, and sensation."<sup>3</sup> As an esteemed arbiter of taste Dennie bestowed praise on Irving and Paulding when, in 1807, their *Salmagundi* exposed "Jacobinical shortcomings."

Verse makers, among whom Thomas Green Fessenden was typical, called on the Muse to aid in the fight against such allies of equalitarianism as faith in reason and the idea of the perfectibility of human nature:

. . . democrats, Illuminees,  
Are birds obscene, and of a feather,  
Should therefore all be class'd together.

They all object to the propriety  
Of law and order in society,  
Think *reason* will supply restraints,  
And make mankind a set of saints.

Now it appears from what I state here,  
My plans for mending human nature  
Entitle men to take the chair  
From Rousseau, Godwin, or Voltaire.

They are of immense *utility*  
And tend to man's perfectibility;  
And if pursu'd, I dare to venture ye,  
He'll be an angel in a century!

And I'll unmask the Democrat,  
Your sometimes this thing, sometimes that,  
Whose life is one dishonest shuffle,  
Lest he perchance the *mob* should ruffle.

<sup>3</sup> *The Port Folio*, III (April 23, 1803), 135.

In these cold shades, beneath these shifting skies,  
 Where Fancy sickens, and where Genius dies;  
 Where few and feeble are the Muse's strains,  
 And no fine frenzy riots in the veins,  
 There still are found a few to whom belong  
 The fire of virtue and the soul of song.

Then, if some thoughtless Bavius dared appear,  
 Short was his date, and limited his sphere;  
 He could but please the changeling mob a day,  
 Then, like his noxious labors, pass away;  
 So, near a forest tall, some worthless flower  
 Enjoys the triumph of its gaudy hour,  
 Scatters its little poison thro' the skies,  
 Then droops its empty, hated head, and dies.<sup>5</sup>

The same sentiment prevailed in Boston, where in 1807 a contributor to the *Anthology* declared "that in this land, where the spirit of democracy is everywhere diffused, we are exposed, as it were, to a poisonous atmosphere, which blasts everything beautiful in nature and corrodes everything elegant in art; we know that with us the 'rose-leaves fall ungathered'; and we believe, that there is little to praise, and nothing to admire in most of the objects, which would first present themselves to the view of a stranger."<sup>6</sup>

There was some justification for the complaint that there was a dearth of intellectual and cultural achievements in the American Republic; but the conservative aristocrat's view that this was the result of such democracy as prevailed was not accepted by all men of letters. The conservative view stood in striking contrast to Freneau's and Barlow's apostrophes to the genius-nourishing qualities of a democracy.

### The Attack on the New Ideas of Sex and Race Equality

The counterattack on the values of the Enlightenment and the fervid expression given them by the French Revolution did not stop with the attack on democracy. The idea, dear to the Enlightenment, that women

<sup>5</sup> William Clifton, *Poems, Chiefly Occasional* (New York, 1800), 53.

<sup>6</sup> *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, IV (January, 1807), 44.

While womanhood was thus being idealized, women and even girls found employment in the rising factories and mills with the approval not only of humble men who needed the help of wives and daughters to support their families but of such champions of the manufacturing interests as Alexander Hamilton. The hours of labor were from sunup to sundown; the shops and mills were often dark and damp, even according to the standards of the time. It was these mills and factories that Hamilton, foe of equalitarian doctrines, regarded as nurseries of virtue for lower-class children and women. "It is worthy of particular remark that, in general, women and children are rendered more useful, and the latter more early useful, by manufacturing establishments, than they would otherwise be."<sup>8</sup> Colonel Humphreys, one of the minor Hartford Wits, a patriot and a gentleman, a bitter critic of the French Revolution, a factory owner and a guardian of public morals, believed with Hamilton that American men of wealth might elevate morals and promote general well-being by providing children of both sexes with opportunities to work in factories. The ideas which Hamilton and Humphreys held regarding women and children of the poor did not, of course, meet with the approval of all men of substantial wealth. But these ideas found comfortable support, and they ran counter to the notion that children of all classes and both sexes might achieve approximate equality if given equal opportunities.

Progressive thinkers, it is true, continued to cherish the doctrines laid down by Mary Wollstonecraft in her *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. But another Englishwoman, Hannah More, exerted far more influence in shaping American views as to the proper role of the female sex. Emphasizing the domestic virtues and the happiness to be derived from subordination, Hannah More became a general favorite and had many American imitators. It is also interesting to recall that Susanna Rowson, whose feminist sympathies have been noted, achieved her greatest literary success in *Charlotte Temple, A Tale of Truth*—a tale that had a moral, namely, that tragedy follows any violation of the conventional code of behavior for young women. Charles Brockden Brown's novels, which actually incorporated the feminist theories which he accepted, did not fare nearly so well. Nor did the proposals for the education of the future mothers of the Republic, that their sons

<sup>8</sup> John C. Hamilton (ed.), *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, 7 vols. (New York, 1850-1851), III, 207-208.

siderations was the fear that Negro emigrants from the French West Indies, where slavery had been abolished and a Negro republic established, might foster revolts such as that which Gabriel, a Virginia Negro, plotted in 1800. Rumor had it that Negro emissaries from Santo Domingo proselyted among American slaves and if unchecked might win them over to the equalitarian doctrines of the French Revolution. Fear of slave insurrections, and actual revolts in Camden, South Carolina, in 1816, and in North Carolina somewhat later, kept nerves taut and minds hostile to the doctrines of humanitarianism and equalitarianism. Slave-owners had not yet begun a systematic defense of the bondage of the Negro—that was to come. But it was clear that a change was underway both in the South and in the North, and that a waning of zeal for emancipation was part of the general conservative reaction against the Enlightenment.

### The Attack on Infidelity

In the minds of many champions of wealth the French attacks on religion were closely associated with the confiscation of church lands and the estates of French nobles. "I know not what to make of a nation of thirty million atheists," exclaimed John Adams, who had himself once flirted with deistic ideas. In his attacks on Jacobinism Hamilton argued that it had annihilated the church and imposed a profane gospel. "A league has at length been cemented between the apostles and disciples of irreligion and anarchy," he charged. "Religion and government have both been stigmatized as abuses; as unwarrantable restraints upon the freedom of man; as causes of the corruption of his nature, intrinsically good."<sup>9</sup> To crush such heresy Hamilton proposed the organization of a Christian Constitutional Society devoted to upholding the Christian religion and the Constitution by checking the influence of "Jacobins" in the populous American towns.

Conservative clergymen took the lead in fastening on the French Revolution the "triumph of infidelity" not only in France but in America itself. As early as 1794 the Reverend Joseph Lathrop of Massachusetts was denouncing the "infamous combination of Jacobinism

<sup>9</sup> Henry Cabot Lodge (ed.), *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, 9 vols. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1885-1886), VIII, 598.



lectual confusion and sharp ideological conflicts. Many who had lent an ear to deistical ideas no doubt reacted against them when their most enthusiastic champions seemed to carry adulation of skepticism and radicalism to extremes. Hard times may have facilitated the evangelical outburst, although there are few references to economic difficulties in the evangelical sermons of the day. It is certain that the New England revivals were welcomed by such opponents of revolutionary deism and radicalism as Timothy Dwight and Jedidiah Morse. The chief support for the revivals came from villagers and farmers; the substantial merchants who were moving toward Unitarianism were, of course, indifferent or hostile. A considerable number of merchants, however, some of whom had been indifferent or hostile toward orthodox Christianity, were attracted to the evangelical movement; Benjamin Tallmadge, staunch conservative Federalist, land speculator, and well-to-do merchant of Litchfield, Connecticut, is representative of this group.

The middle and southern states also felt the new religious impulse. Many planters who had been more or less avowed skeptics accepted some form of orthodox Christianity or, like John Randolph of Roanoke, made religious affirmations. The chief strength of the revival movement in the South was, however, the small farmers whose political affiliations were democratic and Jeffersonian. Throughout the southern seaboard states, Baptists, Methodists, and the evangelical wing of Presbyterianism gained much strength in the opening decades of the nineteenth century.

By the year 1800 itinerant preachers had begun to attract great throngs in the frontier country beyond the Appalachians. At camp-meeting revivals these new Savonarolas preached a muscular, shirt-sleeves religion of fear and hope that attracted roughhewn frontiersmen and their women folk. Hankering for emotional release, lonely in soul and starved for companionship, they welcomed, sometimes hysterically with shrieks, groans, and bodily contortions, the huge get-togethers where tense nerves and repressed feelings found satisfaction in emotional debauches in the name of God. The revivals also brought genuine religious inspiration to countless thousands and were an important factor in checking the religious indifference and skepticism that had begun to spread among the common people of the West as well as among those of older regions.

The orthodox attack on irreligion did not depend solely on revivalism. In fact, champions of the faith planned and executed what Dixon Ryan Fox called the "Protestant Counter-Reformation." New agencies for

prepare the stage for a definite temperance movement. As early as 1789 a partial abstinence society appeared at Litchfield, Connecticut, but a general movement did not get under way until the years preceding the War of 1812, when several temperance societies were organized. In 1812 the Presbyterian General Assembly in Philadelphia appointed a committee to inquire into methods for restricting indulgence. The new crusade was closely allied to the evangelical movement. It also reflected the growing humanitarian sentiment. At the same time many advocates of temperance believed that it would help check the secularism and radicalism associated with the relaxation of orthodox faith and Christian piety.

The Sunday school, which had been established in England to provide elementary secular instruction to children who toiled by day in coal mines or factories, was apparently introduced in America for the same purpose. But it soon became an accepted means for advancing Christian faith and morals among all children.

Early in the nineteenth century missionary societies were organized in the several New England States. These were designed to spread the gospel in the West and Southwest, where indifference to religion was believed to be especially widespread. By 1816 a Board of Home Missions was systematically cultivating the field beyond the Alleghenies. Foreign missions likewise enlisted support. To aid the work of the missionary activities new periodicals were begun, of which the most widely read was *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine*. By 1809 it boasted 7000 readers. It was strictly orthodox, as were a number of the other periodicals that campaigned against deism and skepticism. The missionary movement, like revivalism, relied heavily upon the plain people in villages and on farms, although men of substantial property also contributed.

The Protestant Counter-Reformation was concerned chiefly with winning people to the Christian faith through evangelical methods, but it did not neglect scholarship and education. Hebrew, which had virtually disappeared from the college curriculum, again had its defenders. Systematic theology, represented by the writings of such men as Samuel Hopkins, Joseph Bellamy, Timothy Dwight, and others, had a surprising vogue. To counteract the religious liberalism of the Unitarian variety which had invaded Harvard, the Andover Theological Seminary was established by orthodox Congregationalists, and before long other de-

and millionaire merchant ridiculed the doctrine of the attraction of matter as contrary to common sense and revelation:

That Matter's chain'd to *Matter*, seems to be  
 The underpinning of philosophy  
 By Newton taught—the wonder-working sage,  
 With this idea blotted many a page.

If Matter is by Matter still attracted,  
 This only proves that *Matter* is distracted.  
 Long has the world been lur'd by Newton's schemes  
 His systems strange, and philosophic dreams,  
 And long his fashion bid all ranks proclaim,  
 In terms of loud applause his hallow'd name.

But hence Newtonians vain no longer dare  
 With heaven-taught truths your sophistry compare,  
 Nor with your brittle arguments essay  
 To prove that Matter's legs, and runs away.<sup>10</sup>

Other spokesmen for the conservative reaction took occasion to ridicule their opponents' enthusiastic devotion to science. In *Terrible Tractoration* (1803) Thomas Green Fessenden not only satirized pseudo-scientific quack remedies but heaped scorn on such naturalists as the English botanist Dr. Erasmus Darwin, on Buffon, and on political and literary liberals who dabbled in science. Vivisection and the breeding of animals for experimental purposes also evoked his jibes. In a period in which naturalism was being subjected to criticism this satire, which went through several editions, was particularly acceptable because it seemed to demolish the chief argument of the radicals. David Daggett, a New Haven lawyer and high Federalist who shared the pessimism of his fellow conservatives regarding the future of America, delivered a Fourth of July oration in 1799 with the fetching title, *Sun-Beams may be extracted from Cucumbers, but the Process is Tedious*. In pungent English somewhat reminiscent of Swift he derided scientific projects to grow lambs without wool, to devise automatic machines capable of navigating beneath water as well as in the air (as if God would have neglected to provide man with wings had he been intended to fly!), and, ridiculous of the ridiculous, to extract sunbeams from cucumbers.

<sup>10</sup> Richard Alsop, *The Echo, with other Poems* (New York, 1807), 23 ff.

In addition to the testimony offered by the world of plants and animals to supernatural claims, champions of the orthodox account of the creation found support for their position in the voyages of Captain James Cook. Prior to his demonstration of the proximity of Asia and America, pious men had been perplexed by the Scriptural story of the deluge; for if the entire world had been covered by water and if only Noah and his immediate companions had been saved, how could the American continent, seemingly at such a great distance, ever have become peopled? Now, however, it was apparent that the Asiatic descendants of Noah's tribe could have crossed easily to America on the ice or in canoes; and thus faith in Scripture was reinforced and skepticism dealt a blow by the hand of science.

The necessity of recognizing science and of making certain that it was used to confirm rather than to undermine orthodox faith no doubt was in part responsible for President Timothy Dwight's decision to establish a chair of science at Yale in 1803. Benjamin Silliman, the incumbent, having been converted to orthodox Christianity in the Yale revival and having properly prepared himself for his duties by studies in Philadelphia and in Europe, began a long and distinguished career which fully justified the hope that science might lend support to Christianity.

The religious sanction for scientific inquiry was reinforced by the feeling that science might be useful to the commercial interests so dominant in conservative social and political thought. It is true that it was Jefferson rather than a representative of commercial New England who was responsible in 1807 for the first steps which ultimately resulted in the execution of a coast survey, so helpful to commerce. It is also true that the physiocratic President enlarged scientific knowledge through the Lewis and Clark expedition to the far Northwest. But the fur trade occasioned the expedition sponsored by John Jacob Astor into the Oregon country, an expedition which enabled two naturalists, John Bradbury and Thomas Nuttall, to advance botanical and ornithological knowledge. The voice of commerce also spoke in *The New American Practical Navigator* (1801), an important manual which Nathaniel Bowditch, an anti-Jeffersonian New England mariner, prepared. This classic in its field made use of the method of lunar observation originated by Theophilus Parsons, the conservative lawyer, who is generally remembered for his restatement of English common law in terms of American and, particularly, mercantile needs. Industry as well as commerce

advance of orthodoxy, and in the delimitation of reason, equalitarianism, and science, it would be wrong to assume that the triumph of reaction was complete.

The all-important fact remained that the victory of the Jeffersonians was a rebuke to the aristocratic condemnation of democracy. This was of greater moment in the realm of facts than all the verbal denunciations of democracy. Moreover, the Alien and Sedition Acts, instruments for the limitation of freedom of discussion and the right of asylum, were allowed to lapse after the Jeffersonian victory. The mere memory of them reacted to the discredit of their conservative authors. If Jefferson and his successor seemed to do disappointingly little to promote the values of the Enlightenment, it must be remembered that they did make a sincere effort to preserve the country's peace through an embargo on exports and other devices resembling economic planning. These efforts failed, it is true. In spite of the growing conviction that America ought to remain aloof from Europe's strife, the youthful country plunged into the titanic conflict between Napoleon and Britain. But here and there a few men stood out against even this last resort to war, on grounds other than mere political and economic interest. No sooner was peace declared in 1815 than two Unitarian ministers, Noah Worcester and William Ellery Channing, took steps to launch a permanent protest against war and an unceasing campaign to build peace. The Enlightenment was not dead.

Nevertheless, the time had not come as yet for any sustained efforts to popularize knowledge through widespread education. Nor had the industrialization which had begun to transform the northeastern seaboard advanced sufficiently to call forth a labor movement and a series of humanitarian causes. But although the gulf separating the intellectual experiences of the professional and other privileged groups from those of the great body of plain people remained wide, genuine advances in the life of the mind were made under patrician direction.

## 9 \*\*\*\*\* Patrician Direction of Thought

*The learning of the country was almost entirely on the side of that party which began the administration of national affairs, and which soon became the minority.*

—WILLIAM TUDOR,  
*Letters on the Eastern States, 1820*

When Washington declared in his Farewell Address that the diffusion of knowledge was of prime importance in a republic, he was voicing a conviction with which most of the leading men of his time would have agreed. Educational architects provided plenty of plans to this end, but unfortunately circumstances stood in the way of their realization.

Pressing problems of state and economy absorbed most of the energy and talents of those at the helm: rivalries among the several states and antagonisms between merchants and planters, debtors and creditors; the unruly Indians on the frontier, who had to be pacified or removed into the further hinterland if settlement was to advance; the War of 1812, fought in large part to secure advantages for commerce and to expand the western boundaries; turnpikes and canals, which ultimately served as bonds of union but which for the time being were the cause of bickering and strife; governmental favors demanded by men of substance in the Northeast who were busily diverting capital from ships to factories and mills; the changing order in the South, where planters were being called

softened the bitterness with which the favored classes had regarded democracy during the high Enlightenment and Jacobin furor. A democracy led by gentlemen might after all be made palatable.

Just as gentlemen continued to keep affairs of state in their own hands until the triumph of Jackson's long-threatening forces in 1828, so too did they continue to dominate cultural matters. The specialization and the pressure of competition which characterize a highly technical, industrial society were not yet present to discourage the business or professional man from taking an active interest in the cultural aspects of life. Men of affairs not only entered actively into cultural life themselves but associated on intimate terms with the professional group. This was relatively small. According to an estimate of 1823, the country contained some 6000 lawyers, 10,000 physicians, and 5000 clergymen. These favored classes differed in intellectual equipment and attitudes from the plain people. Thus while other interests were at work beneath the surface, the values of the patrician class largely shaped the intellectual life of the new nation in the decades just before Jackson's election.

To the patrician himself it was clear that his function was to lead, to maintain standards, to refuse to truckle to the vulgar whims of the lower class either in ideas or in taste. He not only was to preserve the knowledge and culture of the past, he was also to increase the store. And if, as some seriously maintained, the absence of such well-defined classes as existed in the Old World might prevent the rise of a school of fiction, there were other spheres in which the writer and artist might preserve and extend the great traditions of the past.

### Books, Magazines, and Newspapers

Under the guidance of the favored classes the new nation's intellectual life made vigorous growth during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, at least by quantitative standards. The 375 printing offices of 1810 almost tripled, and the quality of the books issuing from them was greatly improved. According to the estimate of an enterprising book-jobber, these presses supplied Americans with 20 percent of the current books in 1820, and with 30 percent in 1830. The rest were imported from the British Isles. Despite this relative dependence on the mother country,

manner of the English and Scottish periodicals could not make even the most eclectic of the magazines palatable to any but the smallest circles. Still another factor helps to explain the limited appeal of certain periodicals. As intellectual interests became more specialized in this period—an important evidence of advance—periodicals devoted to such subjects as medicine, law, the theater, and natural science were launched, with the result that general magazines devoted less space to specialized material and became less indispensable to specialists.

Although the masses were not yet reading newspapers, the newspaper-reading public was expanding with the growth of population and commercial interests. By 1815 the United States produced annually 3 million more copies than did Great Britain. Whereas in 1810 only 376 newspapers were published, almost 900 appeared in 1828. In 1810 the annual issue was 22,321,000 copies; by 1828 the 852 journals boasted an annual issue of 68,117,971. This is to say that whereas in 1810 there were 3.81 copies per person annually, in 1828 there were 13.8 copies. Moreover, the newspapers were improved both in plan and in execution.

Despite this expansion newspapers were still for the most part organs of the mercantile and professional classes. The metropolitan journals cost from five to eight dollars per year, but all papers, both urban and rural, were too costly for most people in the humble walks of life. Not until new mechanical devices made mass production possible, a development that coincided with the political and educational awakening of the people, did "penny newspapers" purchasable on street corners become generally available.

## The Support of Intellectuals

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century conditions did not permit even the most gifted man of letters to embark on a professional literary career if he had to earn his livelihood thereby. Few aspirants to literary fame followed the courageous example of Charles Brockden Brown, the first American to support himself solely by his pen. His death in 1810, and the quiescence of Freneau after his patriotic outburst during the second war with England, left the scene largely to more conservative-minded men. Fortunately most of them enjoyed sources of support other



met at one another's homes for conviviality, talk, and praise of the writings of their fellows. Frequently these groups fostered a periodical. The Anthology Club in Boston maintained *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*; the Literary Confederacy of New York supported various ventures, as did the Ugly Club, the Bread and Cheese Club, and others similarly famed for wit and revelry. In Philadelphia the Tuesday Club was a pillar of strength to *The Port Folio*; and at the famous "parties" of Dr. Caspar Wistar and the celebrated soirees of Robert Walsh, Catholic journalist and critic, literary gossip and brilliant talk flourished. The *Portico* was launched by a literary circle in Baltimore; at Charleston the Literary and Philosophical Club became known for the high intellectual tone of its gatherings.

Most of the men of letters and science in whose hands lay the advancement of culture came from substantial families able to indulge their sons' interest in literature or learning. Wealth ultimately derived from land enabled scions of well-to-do families to promote cultural values as patrons or scholars. De Witt Clinton, governor of New York, sponsored educational and scientific enterprises; Edward Livingston, who also followed politics, was the author of a scholarly legal code for Louisiana. James Fenimore Cooper was endowed from the landed estates of his family in central New York. In South Carolina plantation wealth enabled John Izard Middleton to study archeology abroad and to win praise for the excellence of his drawings in his *Grecian Remains in Italy* (1812), a pioneer work in its field; Stephen Elliott, an authority on the natural history of South Carolina, for a time managed the family plantation. Virginia's brilliant social philosopher, John Taylor of Caroline, supported his family from his plantations while he wrote tracts on agricultural reform and systematic treatises blasting the centralizing and capitalistic developments in American government and economic life.

Directly or indirectly commerce also enabled many men to enjoy the luxury of letters and scholarship. Sometimes men of affairs became patrons of literature and science. Thus in 1818 the rich Boston merchant Israel Thorndike purchased for Harvard the treasury of books that Ebeling, the great German authority on America, had collected. After helping to build a fortune by marketing ice in the tropics, William Tudor of Boston devoted himself to critical and descriptive writing and to the editorship of the *North American Review*, which he founded in

plore the West in 1817. This exploration led to pioneer studies not only in geology but in ethnology as well.

While the professional class in general enjoyed less wealth than the merchants and landed proprietors, many practitioners of law and medicine were among the richest men of their community. Among the men whose fathers were prominent and substantial physicians, able to give many advantages to their sons, were Joel Poinsett, public figure of South Carolina and patron of many worthy cultural enterprises; Joseph Story, the distinguished scholar in jurisprudence; James Gates Percival, author of the Spenserian *Prometheus* (1821), which struck a melancholy note; and Thomas Say, "father of American zoology." Bryant's father, while not wealthy, was a country doctor of standing. As in former times, medical men themselves often made contributions to knowledge. The Danas in their *Outlines of Mineralogy and Geology of Boston*, Horace Hayden in his *Geological Essays* (1820), and especially Dr. Archibald Bruce, founder of the first geological journal, enriched science through studies ranging from the discovery and classification of minerals and ores to the promulgation of novel theories.

Success in law enabled many men to play important roles in the cultural life of the period. Chancellor James Kent was in a position to pay out over \$1000 for the publication of the first of the eight volumes of his great *Commentaries on American Law*. In this instance the investment was profitable, for according to good authority Kent subsequently reaped \$5000 annually from this venture. Charles J. Ingersoll, literary critic and stout defender of Americanism in the life of the mind; Joseph Hopkinson, versifier and littérateur; and Peter Stephen Duponceau, a naturalized Frenchman celebrated for his work in Indian philology, enjoyed lucrative law practices. The list of lawyers with an active interest in letters also includes William Wirt, author of the much-admired *Letters of a British Spy* and a life of Patrick Henry; William Austin, writer of Hawthornesque tales; and the rising orator Daniel Webster. The list could be extended almost indefinitely.

The ministry, on the other hand, included few well-to-do men, but it did enable a goodly number to follow a scholarly or literary bent and to give their sons the advantages of a scholarly home, association with leaders in the community, and a college education. Indeed, ministers' families far exceeded their quota of sons destined to win laurels in letters, science, and scholarship.

naturalists, Long's expedition resulted not only in an impressive extension of geographical knowledge about the Rocky Mountain area but in the discovery of sixty new or rare animals, several hundred insects, and many interesting new plants. In 1824 Long led another expedition that quarried geological knowledge from the region bounded by the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Canadian boundary.

Government support of intellectual interests was frequently urged with vigor and broad vision but without marked success. Among those who attacked the problem of government subsidy most courageously was John Quincy Adams, whose scholarly report on weights and measures was published in 1821 at the expense of the federal government. In his inaugural address he asked for public support of the arts and sciences, and especially for a government observatory and exploring expedition so that the United States, like other countries, might contribute to the advancement of knowledge and the improvement of the lot of mankind. But his plea fell on deaf ears. Other reverses retarded the program of government encouragement to culture. In 1825 fire damaged the Library of Congress, which had been reestablished in 1815 by the purchase of Jefferson's enviable collection of rare and important volumes. But a new beginning was made in what ultimately was to become a great national monument to learning. In the field of state enterprise the commonwealths began to follow the example of New York and New Hampshire, which in 1820 established state libraries.

In the arts the situation was much the same. The federal government was not utterly indifferent, but most artists were dependent on their own resources. Under public auspices the work of planning the national capitol, which had been so ably undertaken by Major l'Enfant, a French officer in the American war for independence, was continued by Benjamin Latrobe, who took charge of the construction of the south wing of the building. English by birth and German by training, Latrobe was largely dependent on foreign artists for the decorative work. At length two American artists, Rembrandt Peale and John Trumbull, were subsidized for their contributions to the beautification of the capitol. In general, however, artists, like men of letters, were self-dependent. Even the patronage of the well-to-do failed to relieve Samuel F. B. Morse, John Trumbull, and many of their fellow artists of grave financial worries.

Most of the few young men who succeeded without family support as

colleges, though they seem very low today, were large in terms of the cash income of the great majority of American families: from \$180 to \$201 at the University of Pennsylvania, \$170 at Harvard, \$140 at Yale, and a minimum of \$120 at Brown and Williams. Naturally registrations were low. In 1820 James Fenimore Cooper estimated that less than 8000 graduates of the twelve oldest colleges were then living. These, together with the 3000 undergraduates, constituted a small fraction of the total population of approximately 10 million.

Yet the road to a collegiate education was by no means entirely closed to bright and energetic sons of the poor. The rapid spread of private academies enabled many boys from families of limited means to prepare for college; the lads "boarded themselves" in the dormitory on food largely produced on their fathers' farms. Young men intending to enter the ministry could obtain help from various societies that existed for this purpose; and in the northeastern states college youths might still earn their way by teaching school during the long holidays. New colleges, moreover, were constantly being founded to increase educational opportunities in the rapidly growing country. To the thirty colleges existing in 1810 seven permanent institutions were added during the following decade. During the years from 1820 to 1830 twelve more took root.

Certain educational leaders were also aware that the classical curriculum might not be well suited to the needs of every youth. At Vermont President Marsh tried to democratize the university so that any Green Mountain boy might profit from the offerings according to his abilities and needs. The curriculum was liberalized at Brown, Amherst, and above all at Jefferson's University of Virginia and Eliphalet Nott's Union College in New York, where the elective system struck roots. The establishment of Norwich University in Vermont in 1820 and of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institution four years later at Troy, New York, supplemented the opportunities for technical training hitherto available chiefly at West Point. Even with these new facilities only a small proportion of college youth could obtain engineering and technical training at academic institutions. Colleges were by no means caste institutions, but in comparison with the larger facilities of the mid-nineteenth-century decades, opportunities for college education were still limited.

One idea widely cherished during the postrevolutionary years was greatly modified in the decades following the War of 1812. Most liberals

museum of natural history. Its founders, men of substance and leadership, observed that Boston's commerce was highly productive and that "the class of persons enjoying easy circumstances, and possessing surplus wealth, is comparatively numerous. As we are not called upon for large contributions to national purposes, we shall do well to take advantage of the exemption, by taxing ourselves for those institutions, which will be attended with lasting and extensive benefit, amidst all changes of our public fortunes and political affairs."<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the benefactions of such public-spirited men of affairs as John Quincy Adams, John Lowell, James Perkins, and William Shaw, the Athenaeum absorbed many special-collections and in a relatively short time became a popular literary center for its restricted shareholding membership, and a model for other athenaeums.

Other cities saw the rise of similar institutions. Not to be outdone by Boston, a group of prominent Worcester men, including Isaiah Thomas, the far-famed publisher of almanacs, Bibles, and other books, incorporated the American Antiquarian Society in 1812. This organization was to assist the future historians of the country by preserving materials that would serve as landmarks in the progress of civilization. It was not long before it had a notable collection of materials that became the pride of Worcester's first families: Indian and other American antiquities, maps, newspapers, manuscripts, and books. It issued annually a volume of proceedings to which friends of the society contributed. In New York, John Pintard, a merchant prince of scholarly tastes, took the lead in establishing the New York Historical Society in 1804; on its rosters were the names of many men prominent in the professional and business life of the metropolis.

In other cities also leading citizens established museums and academies of natural history. In 1812 such an institution was organized in Philadelphia, and five years later the Lyceum of Natural History in New York began its useful career when prominent citizens assembled collections of specimens, contributed original papers, and published memoirs. About the same time museums of natural history were founded in Richmond, Raleigh, and Charleston, and within a few years in Baltimore, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and at least a dozen small places. All these agencies enriched American intellectual life by encouraging a spirit of

<sup>1</sup> Josiah Quincy, *The History of the Boston Athenaeum* (Cambridge, 1851), 39-40.

The proposal for the establishment of publicly supported free libraries did not take root at once. But the middle classes in the cities, longing for more reading matter, took things in hand by forming their own libraries. In 1820 two new institutions, the Mercantile Library Association and the Apprentices' Library Association, were organized in New York; and presently Boston and Philadelphia announced the establishment of similar libraries. Even in rural districts reading opportunities gradually broadened. Thanks to the promoting genius of Mathew Carey, the Philadelphia publisher, book agents such as Parson Weems traveled up and down the land peddling in quantities biographies, histories, and manuals designed for the use and moral uplift of people in the ordinary walks of life. Moralistic and anecdotal chapbooks found a place in the wagons of the 200 peddlers that by 1823 were canvassing the country.

As a result of the evangelical movement the old staples of the Bible and the almanac were now supplemented by tracts designed to inculcate piety, temperance, and Christian zeal. Appealing to human interests as these tracts often did, they must have encouraged the reading habit among the common people. More solid matter—theology, biography, and history—found its way into the parish libraries that multiplied in New England. It was in such "social libraries" that boys like Elihu Burritt, the "learned blacksmith," laid the foundations for their later learning.

Significant in the popularization of knowledge were the museums established by the artist Charles Willson Peale and his sons in Philadelphia and Baltimore. From a modest beginning in 1794 in Peale's studio, the museum in Philadelphia developed until in 1808 it was self-supporting and had become not only one of the recreational showplaces of the city but an agency of definite educational value. For a moderate charge one might see in its rooms an electrical machine and exhibits of wampum, scalps, tomahawks, historical curiosities, stuffed birds, preserved reptiles, and strange animals standing lifelike in front of painted skies and woods. Or one might contemplate the reconstructed skeleton of a mastadon, one of Peale's great achievements, or scrutinize a minute insect under a microscope. Brief readable descriptions and provision for oral explanations of the exhibits added to the educational value of the institution. But it deteriorated into the sensationalistic type of "dime museum" when the municipality and the federal government refused Peale's offer to hand over the exhibits and he himself became too old to supervise his cherished specimens. As an early experiment in the popu-

outer portal even before the patrician monopoly of learning began to be broken during the Jacksonian period. The learned and the ignorant, as Judge James Hall observed in his *Letters from the West* (1828), came into contact with one another more frequently and more intimately than in societies with well-defined castes. This was somewhat less true in the East than in the West; but even in the older rural communities common association in church societies, town meetings, and similar institutions presented a striking contrast with Europe. Seeing this, and the general literacy of the ordinary man, Hall prophesied, somewhat optimistically, that the gulf between the ignorant and the learned could not persist forever.

A stronger case might be made for Timothy Dwight's contention that if the common man in America knew less about his particular task than the European peasant or artisan, he knew a great deal more about other matters. This view was frequently advanced even in the writings of the English travelers whose antipathy toward America was patent. Henry Bradshaw Fearon, for example, admitted that because of his mobility the American agricultural laborer surpassed the English yeoman in intelligence and information. A transplanted Englishman, John Bristed, wrote in 1818 that the mass of Americans excelled every other people in the world in shrewdness of intellect, general intelligence, versatility, and readiness to experiment with untried things.

Still others confirmed the observation made by William Cobbett on his return to America in 1817 that every farmer, unlike the European peasant, was more or less a reader. At about the same time Lieutenant Francis Hall of His Majesty's Light Brigade was impressed, like other travelers, by finding mathematical manuals and other useful books of knowledge in houses that made no pretense whatever to luxury or learning. He also noted that the common people in America were better informed and had a greater aptitude for agricultural and mechanical innovations than their European counterparts. Jefferson, whom Hall visited at Monticello, ascribed these characteristics to the fact that Americans of all ranks and conditions, in greater degree than in Europe, found time to cultivate their minds after the cultivation of acres less hard to work than those of Europe. The great Virginian added that in town, court, and county meetings plain people found an opportunity for thinking and discussing common problems in a way closed to humble men in the Old World. Surely, in this period of generally conservative orienta-

# Nationalism Challenges Cosmopolitanism

Dependence, whether literary or political, is a state of degradation, fraught with disgrace; and to be dependent on a foreign mind, for what we can ourselves produce, is to add to the crime of indolence, the weakness of stupidity.

—The Port Folio, 1816

We are the Romans of the modern world,—the great assimilating people.

—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, 1858

You are very energetic in America; and in all matters regarding Education you are likely to outstrip Europe. You have undoubtedly suggested many improvements, and we are very willing to have the benefit of your wisdom and experience. . . . America has long since taken the highest place in Jurisprudence, and all Europe must confess its obligations to the distinguished Jurists of that country. We have no such writers in Jurisprudence as Kent, Story & Greenleaf. . . . In Theology, too, America stands very high, and some of her writers in that department are esteemed throughout Europe.

—J. S. MORE TO HENRY BARNARD, 1856

No simple formula epitomizes the complex pattern of ideas that characterizes the thought of the better-established classes in the first three



University of Geneva, he finally borrowed heavily from British universities.

The force of habit also helps to explain the continuing eclectic and cosmopolitan character of the cultural life of American patricians. Noah Webster, an early conservative advocate of a distinctive intellectual life, had been no more able than Jefferson to realize his ambitions without compromises—compromises dictated by habit. It is true that certain of his reforms in orthography, such as the characteristically American spelling of wagon, plow, mold, ax, labor, honor, center, and theater, were taking root, and it is also true that John Pickering, in his dictionary of words and phrases presumably peculiar to the United States, issued in 1816, listed some 500 specimens. But Webster, in subsequent revisions of his ubiquitous *Spelling Book*, had yielded to the pull of deep-rooted habits by omitting many of his extreme innovations. So, too, in his *Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* (1806) he had, without entirely abandoning his role as a reformer, relinquished many innovations of his earlier linguistic chauvinism. The demand for the further Americanization of the language was still heard, but the hope of early patriots that American English would become as differentiated from the mother tongue as Dutch was from the German was not to be realized. Habit and tradition were too strong.

Having always been the recipients of ideas and culture from abroad, educated Americans naturally continued to be. However strongly American patriots may have desired a distinctive cultural life, they could not, as men and women of ideas, taste, and learning, turn their backs on the wealth of traditional European culture or on the rising currents of thought in the Old World. Side by side on their shelves with the great treasures of Greece and Rome stood the eighteenth-century classics that inspired such imitations as Washington Irving's Addisonian sketches. Old-fashioned southern gentlemen surprised James K. Paulding in 1817 not only in stubbornly standing by English writers but in preferring older English writers. They refused to give up Milton for Byron, Newton for Herschel, or Locke for Stewart.

The continued appeal of European currents of thought and the paradoxical appeal of cultural nationalism can be explained in terms of the congeniality of the one or the other to the particular needs of the cultivated classes or the particular situation in which they found themselves. In disdaining the newfangled notions and standing faithfully by their

frontier country and with the recession westward of the frontier itself, continued to require the accommodation of European ideas to American needs. The ideal of cultural nationalism frequently facilitated this process of accommodation or modification.

The status of legal thought in the first three decades of the century illustrates these tendencies. It will be recalled that in general social and political liberals objected to the common law on the ground that it was British and therefore aristocratic and un-American, and that it was likewise an instrument for the protection of creditors rather than debtors and of property rights rather than human rights. These radicals, influenced by the eighteenth-century concept of rationally made legal codes, favored the rejection of common law and the establishment of an American law based on natural rights. Edward Livingston, who framed a legal code for Louisiana, represented this faith in a conscious juristic effort to construct a rational and humane law. But most trained lawyers and virtually all conservatives had no use for artificially made laws; they revered the common law for its organic nature, its time-tested precepts, and its provisions for personal rights and the sanctity of property rights.

Many trained lawyers figured in the accommodation of English common law to American conditions, but two figures, Joseph Story of Massachusetts and James Kent of New York, stood head and shoulders above the others. Both shaped much law by their notable court decisions. Story in his *Commentaries on the Constitution* and Kent in his *Commentaries on American Law* supplemented and systematized their court decisions, thus further contributing to the acceptance of English law. This they did by identifying it with the generally accepted law of nature, supplementing it through comparative law, and translating many of the social and political ideas and practices of the New World into legal concepts in harmony with common-law traditions.

What made this law especially congenial to conservatives was that it met so well the needs of the directors of an expanding commercial and industrial society. The doctrine so dear to many radicals, that liberty rested on economic equality, was rejected; the extent to which government might regulate property rights was carefully restricted; barriers were thrown around individual rights, especially property rights; and the primacy of the federal government as the most effective means of protecting propertied interests against assaults by the states was upheld. No wonder that Jackson, agrarian and champion of popular rights, regarded

emotional escape which is always welcome and doubly so in a tumultuous world in which the old order breaks down through economic and social revolutions.

The desire to escape from the unpleasant requirements of grim reality may also explain the lure of the picturesque and the remote, whether in time or place (another ingredient of Romanticism). Irving, always detached from the most acute realities of his own time, shifted from the rollicking wit of the *Salmagundi Papers* to his graceful and shadowy illusions of olden times on the banks of the Hudson, in the leisurely towns of Spain, and among the picturesque byways of England—not the England of factories and coal mines. All this may reflect Irving's lack of ease in the bustling, gross, and practical America, which he so little understood. Cooper too, devoted as he was to America in so many ways, was unable to accept the "crude levelism" that violated his idealized picture of a decorous eighteenth-century landed aristocracy, and so may have found solace in an exciting wilderness and a romantic sea. Paulding's fondness for the ways of the lowly, so evident in his homespun pictures of old Dutch New York, also reflects Romanticism; if his angle of vision was somewhat different, it was no less remote from existing actualities. And, finally, Scott's great popularity—during the decade 1813–1823, 5 million volumes of the *Waverley Novels* issued from American presses—may have sprung from the half-felt need for compensatory escape. Or it may have been that his stirring tales of border warfare struck a responsive chord in the hearts of Americans because they themselves knew something of the strife and adventure of the frontier, both from experience and from the alluring tales of their own Cooper. Or perhaps the mansion people were fascinated by Scott's glowing accounts of the lords and ladies of feudal castles who lived on an even more pretentious and glamorous plane than any to which they themselves could aspire.

Byronic melancholy and gloom also had its charms in a world that was still stormy and tumultuous, and it enticed Americans with facile pens into imitative efforts. But to those in comfortable circumstances the mood of optimism that was unmistakably present in the new currents of Romanticism was even more congenial as the old Federalist pessimism, which assumed that calamity was just around the corner, that the Republic could not endure, was giving way. The collapse of radicalism abroad, the relaxation of political rivalries, the security of property, and

In the field of painting the full tide of Romanticism did not set in until the period of Jacksonian individualism. Shortly after 1823, however, Thomas Cole began to paint romantic landscapes of the Hudson valley and the Catskills. At about the same time Asher B. Durand, the engraver of "Musidora" (a nude figure in rustic surroundings which owed its inspiration to Thomson's "Seasons") virtually launched the Hudson River school of landscape painting. Rapturous in its celebration of romantic scenery, this school was to enjoy splendid triumphs.

Closely allied to the reverential regard for nature was the vogue for the "falsely feminine" sentiment and moral didacticism that stamped so much of the drearily genteel writing of the Romantic school. Joseph Story spoke for many of his class when at the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa exercises in 1826 he bestowed high praise on American literature for the distinctive quality flowing from its moral earnestness.

Sometimes dimly, sometimes quite consciously, the conservatives sensed danger in the implications of a Romanticism which after all did sacrifice discipline and all the checks of a more or less objective conventionalism to subjective fancies and judgments. Such an alluringly romantic poem as Byron's "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," for instance, offended the respectable by what appeared to be its licentiousness; his new work was received with doubt and hesitation. Social no less than spiritual well-being was likely to suffer if abandonment to natural impulses became the order of the day. Writing in the *North American Review* for 1823, Samuel Gilman, the Unitarian minister at Charleston, gave some praise to the poetry of James Gates Percival but went on to point out the dangers inherent in a break with tradition and a reliance on mere personal experience. Not until the period of Jacksonian democracy and the rampant individualism of the social reformers did the full implications of the radicalism inherent in Romanticism become apparent.

### The Growing Interest in Non-British Culture

The cosmopolitan and eclectic nature of patrician thought was reflected in a growing interest in the culture of non-British lands, especially Germany. For a long time, as a matter of fact, learned men had had some acquaintance with German thought, so that the enthusiasm for

view of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, which appeared in the *North American Review* in 1817. American periodicals, which had hitherto paid little attention to German letters, save for Goethe's *Sorrows of Werther* and the plays of Schiller and Kotzebue, now began to find a place for a whole series of essays on German literature, philosophy, scholarship, and education. Goethe gave a set of his works to Harvard in 1819, and other German imprints flowed into the country.

The arrival of a small group of refugees also had its effect. In 1825 Charles Follen, a fugitive student leader, introduced German gymnastics in Boston and began instruction in his mother tongue at Harvard. In the same year the University of Virginia introduced the study of German. Those who were not among the small but enthusiastic group of pupils of German masters or did not study the language in their own libraries could become acquainted with German idealistic philosophy indirectly through Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, which President James Marsh of the University of Vermont, himself a student of German philosophy, published with an illuminating introduction in 1829. Through still other channels German influence was felt; Francis Lieber, a refugee, undertook shortly after his arrival in 1827 the preparation of the *Encyclopaedia Americana*. This followed German principles of scholarship and organization.

But northern Germany, which in the 1830s and 1840s was to play so important a role in both American philosophy and education, was not the only source of the new fare. William Maclure, the Scottish geologist, introduced into America Pestalozzi's educational theories, which in their emphasis on individual development and nature study were closely related to Romantic ideas. Although the time had not yet come for Pestalozzianism to soften the harsh, disciplined, book-centered, and mechanical pedagogy of the traditional schools, it did nevertheless arouse interest. It inspired Warren Colburn, a Massachusetts teacher, to reorganize the presentation of elementary arithmetic, and at such liberal centers as Robert Owen's New Harmony it came into its own. The theories of another Swiss educator, Fellenberg, also aroused interest in limited circles and stimulated efforts to combine the training of the mind with physical labor.

Patrician interest in the culture of Italy and Spain also increased. Philadelphia and New York profited from the presence of that extraordinary adventurer, Lorenzo Da Ponte, importer of books from the Latin

dered in the United States were also factors of considerable weight. The patronizing or condemnatory evaluations of American life and culture expressed in travelers' accounts and reviews published in the British literary magazines were no new thing. But after 1815 these attacks increased both in volume and in bitterness. No doubt the long-standing disdain and resentment over the growth of America were greatly replenished by the American declaration of war at the very height of the struggle against Napoleon. No doubt the enhanced rancor of the British owed something to the irritating patriotic conceit of an American public oblivious of its own shabby military record. In the United States the conviction deepened that these scurrilous attacks were inspired no less by a desire for revenge than by a determination to belittle everything American in a desperate attempt to stave off parliamentary reform and, above all, to check emigration and protect British markets against the competition of American enterprise.

Whatever the motives, English travelers returning from America joined with the literary critics of the great quarterly and monthly periodicals in patronizing or excoriating the Americans, or both. The retorts which the smarting Americans were quick to make, accompanied by attacks on the decadently feudal character of English culture, only goaded the British into making still more sweeping assaults. Americans were ridiculed for their execrable taste, their vulgar manners, their unlimited bigotry, their colossal ignorance and vanity. Or they were denounced as a slave-flogging, materialistic, gross, undisciplined people devoid of true religious feeling. In the United States, it was charged, democracy ran riot, political corruption fouled public life, demagoguery reigned supreme, and property was unsafe from the mob. Franklin, the only American who was conceded any claim to genius, had been nurtured under the British flag; subsequent inventors merely stole British ideas.

American men of letters were characterized as pale and utterly unworthy imitators of British writers. The words of the Reverend Sydney Smith, whose famous article in the *Edinburgh Review* was less unfriendly than many, have often been quoted:

During the thirty or forty years of their independence, they [the Americans] have done absolutely nothing for the Sciences, for the Arts, for Literature, or even for the statesman-like studies of Politics or Political Economy. . . . In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? or goes

fictional account of a Jesuit touring the United States. The Jesuit rejected the charge that Americans were a degenerate species given over to materialism; he praised much in their culture, especially the bold, nervous, and beautiful tones of their eloquence. It was high time, he concluded, for Europe to be undeceived "respecting a people, in many respects the first, and in none the lowest in the scale of nations." James Kirke Paulding, who on four different occasions took up his pen in the defense of his country, inaugurated his efforts with *The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan* (1813), a satire on the British caricatures of his native land. Neither the fictional traveler's account nor the burlesque were forgotten in the subsequent crusade.

As the literary war became more heated, Robert Walsh, Alexander H. Everett, Christopher Gore, and others added a new note in the American defense by undertaking a counter analysis of England, which was significant as an evidence that Americans were now sufficiently self-conscious to describe the mother country in detail, just as any other foreign land might be described. Weak spots in the civilization of Great Britain were laid bare. Paulding in particular denounced what he insisted was the exploitation of the mass of the common people by an idle and vicious remnant of the feudal aristocracy. At least one American, Joshua E. White, a Savannah cotton merchant, warned his fellow countrymen to beware of the factory system which had cast such dark shadows over the liberty no less than the well-being of the English people.

The most characteristic note in the American defense was the effort to explain the cultural shortage in terms of the brief national history and the tasks imposed by the wilderness. Without any consciousness of paradox the positive defense glorified America's intellectual contributions. In this defense Timothy Dwight, William Tudor, and a long list of champions mustered their most redoubtable literary weapons. Nor did they give up the combat until American magazines were flooded with their outpourings. The truculent John Neal of Portland and Baltimore even carried the war into the enemy's camp by visiting England for the purpose of dispelling British illusions about America. To the surprise of many Americans he succeeded in persuading the editors of some of the leading journals to accept for publication his own evaluations of American letters, art, and affairs.

No defense was more impressive than that which Charles J. Ingersoll made before the American Philosophical Society in 1823 in his *Discourse*

tual glories of a people must not be divorced from its institutions and its life. It was fruitless to seek inspiration in themes which had distinguished other civilizations; veneration for the past, patriotism, even romantic love, had already spent themselves in literature.

But America, Channing went on, was destined to frame new social institutions, to release new human powers, to reap new spiritual harvests. Here man, unembarrassed by all the outworn disguises which in the Old World concealed those qualities which made him man, might, better than anywhere else, rise to communion with the Supreme Mind, receive and minister to the Infinite Spirit. And not a few gifted men alone; a better race of men could spring up only if the more talented freely shared their genius with the less gifted. Released from antiquated institutions, America could create an intellectual life truly expressive of itself—a life in which man could rise to his full stature through the release of all human potentialities, in which he might advance, in ways hitherto undreamed, science, the refinement of taste and imagination, moral and religious truth. The inspiration that Channing expressed so well lay back of many of the achievements of the American mind.

Meanwhile many who shared with Channing this heightened zeal for a distinctively American intellectual life looked to other formulas for its realization. Some, imbued with the romantic enthusiasm of Scott, advocated the utilization of the American past in literature and the arts. Professor Thomas C. Upham of Bowdoin expressed what was in the minds and on the pen of a vociferous group of contributors to periodicals: "Europeans may ridicule our name, our country, and our prospects," he wrote in 1819,

... but in the clime so grossly misrepresented and defamed, it is not possible for them to deny, that an ample and most interesting field is open for literary speculations and exertions. The character and civil habits, the piety and magnanimity of the first settlers, the sufferings and devotedness of the missionaries, who penetrated into dreary forests and abodes of savages; the societies of Christianized Indians; the character of celebrated chiefs; the adventures of the first explorers of the country; the seclusion, devotions, and sufferings of frontier villages, are enchanting topics as well for the pencil of the limner as the lyre of the bard; and are so remote and indistinct as to admit, where they require it, the inventions of fiction and the adornments of fancy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Thomas C. Upham, *American Sketches* (New York, 1819), 15.



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level, founded the *American Journal of Science*. This pioneer undertaking announced at the start that it would function as a depository for "original American communications." National pride should not, Silliman warned, cause American scientists to reject the rich treasures of European investigators, but it should stimulate them to make a return in kind. Frankly appealing for support from all sections of the country regardless of the rival claims of the larger cities and the local feelings nourished by state sovereignties, Silliman declared that the new venture was based on "permanent and momentous national interests" and designed to advance "both the science and reputation of our country." It did both. With justifiable pride he could note in 1829 that the character of the *Journal* was "strictly national" and that its files were indispensable to anyone who would examine the progress of American science.

In a remarkable survey of the achievements of natural science in America Dr. James E. De Kay of New York called attention to the effect of the War of 1812 in awakening the spirit of inquiry.

The forest, and the mountain, and the morass have been explored. The various forms and products of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms have been carefully, and in many instances, successfully investigated. A proper feeling of nationality has been widely diffused among our naturalists; a feeling which has impelled them to study and examine for themselves, instead of blindly using the eyes of foreign naturalists, or bowing implicitly to the decisions of a foreign bar of criticism. This, if restrained within due bounds, if it is not perverted into a narrow and bigoted sentiment, that has not infrequently been mistaken for national feeling, must be attended with beneficial consequences.<sup>5</sup>

De Kay took special pride in the fact that the knowledge of natural history and geology had advanced by leaps and bounds and that American phenomena had stimulated and challenged European scientists. He proudly described the publication of American textbooks based on indigenous materials in the spheres of botany, zoology, and geology. He took delight in the fact that Charles Lucien Bonaparte had completed the ornithology by Alexander Wilson and in the zoological contributions of Leseur, Say, Harland, and Godman. But in De Kay's view American conditions had affected the advance of scientific knowledge in even more significant ways. The simple yet grand features of American geology

<sup>5</sup> James E. De Kay, *Anniversary Address on the Progress of the Natural Sciences in the United States* (New York, 1826), 7.

The relation of economic interests to cultural patriotism was often subtle and intangible, but occasionally it was clear and measurable. In 1816 Congress enacted a duty on imported foreign books, much to the satisfaction of American paper manufacturers, printers, and bookmakers who now felt themselves able to produce books in quantities for the American public. Thomas Jefferson, John Pickering, and other scholars, on the other hand, memorialized Congress to revoke this duty so that foreign books would enter the country freely and enrich the nation's intellectual life. Paper and book manufacturers replied that if the duties were withdrawn, British bookmakers would overwhelm the American market. "Our Government," declared the sympathetic chairman of the finance committee of the Senate,

. . . is peculiar to ourselves and our books of instruction should be adapted to the nature of the Government and the genius of the people. In the best of foreign books we are liable to meet with criticism and comparisons not very flattering to the American people. In American editions of these the offensive and illiberal parts are expunged or explained, and the work is adapted to the exigencies and tastes of the American reader. But withdraw the protection, our channels of instruction will be foreign; our youth will imbibe sentiments, form attachments and acquire habits of thinking adverse to our prosperity, unfriendly to our Government, and dangerous to our liberties.<sup>8</sup>

The duty on foreign books was not repealed in spite of the influence of the American Philosophical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Harvard, Yale, and ex-President Jefferson himself. These years also marked the beginnings of agitation on the part of American writers for an international copyright. Without this American publishers could "pirate" or reissue the books of foreign authors, to whom no royalties had to be paid, at far less cost than it was possible to print the writings of Americans to whom some return was due.

The impact of economic nationalism on economic theory was more patent than its influence on belles-lettres. Not until the middle 1820s did the South, which had shared the national enthusiasm, including that for domestic manufactures, reject the theoretical justification for protective tariffs and insist on the validity of the laissez-faire doctrines of the classical British and French schools. This about-face, which was

<sup>8</sup> Harriet S. Tapley, *Salem Imprints, 1768-1825* (The Essex Institute, 1927), 259-260.

brief period of his American residence it was the home of the German economist Friedrich List, whose doctrines were to play a subsequent role in the movement for the customs union of the German states. In his *Outlines of American Political Economy* (1827) List developed the argument of Raymond and Carey by maintaining that a nation found its true wealth in the full, many-sided development of its productive power rather than in the quantity of exchange values it possessed. New England industrialists, sensitive to the increasing shift of capital from commerce to industry, appealed to the theoretical justifications of tariffs, which loomed large among their needs. Outstanding among these justifications were those of Daniel Webster, who himself shifted from a free trade position in response to the shift from commerce to manufacturing, and Willard Phillips, a Boston lawyer, editor, and business man who made a skillful use of statistics in *A Manual of Political Economy* (1828).

At the same time the abundance of natural resources in the United States and the relative sparsity of population bred an optimism that resulted almost inevitably in the rejection of the pessimistic doctrines of Malthus, especially his insistence that, in view of the tendency of the race to reproduce itself more rapidly than subsistence justified, continence must become widespread to supplement war and famine, nature's means of checking overpopulation. In America a high birth rate was regarded as an excellent means of increasing a labor supply inadequate for the exploitation of natural resources assumed to be inexhaustible. Alexander Hill Everett, a Massachusetts lawyer, orator, legislator, and diplomat, was unable to accept the Malthusian implications that progress was a chimera, that a beneficent God had ordered a universe in which the poor must either forego the joys of marriage or be subject to nature's curtailment through war, famine, vice, and misery. Such a gloomy and fatalistic doctrine might be valid in England, where the means of subsistence was inadequate to the population, but not in America where, even in times of unemployment, the community could provide relief. In the long run, according to Everett and such anti-Malthusians as Willard Phillips and Jacob Cardozo, population would adjust itself to the existing state of industrial development.

The more reflective among cultural patriots from time to time considered the obstacles to a distinctively American culture. On the one hand some regretted that cultural activities did not enjoy more generous sup-

up in the unfolding structure of American society. And among the stages of that unfolding none was more important than the struggle between aristocratic and democratic values. On the cultural no less than on the political level this struggle was presently to reach a climax in the Jacksonian period. But Jackson's triumph owed much to the exodus of people to the frontier, which in turn played a part in the intellectual life during the reign of the patricians. No less important, the march westward also prepared for the new assault on the monopoly of learning by the few.

## The West in the Thought of Europe and the East

The vast forests, prairies, and rivers beyond the Alleghenies, home of the Noble Savage and of strange, fascinating beasts, had become the subject of romantic legend before the great migration of Atlantic sea-coast peoples began in the later years of the eighteenth century. Indeed, a whole literature had emerged in Europe which, with curious paradox, pictured the wilderness beyond the mountains as both the seat of idyllic peace and the scene of exciting adventure and golden opportunity. In this romantic legend much of reality was obscured: the bickerings of officials and clerics in the old French regime in the Mississippi valley, gruesome hardships, squalid, vindictive, suspicious Indians. The extravagant imaginations of the Rousseaus and Chateaubriands had drawn highly embroidered, sentimental, and glamorous pictures. Byron, who helped create the Daniel Boone legend, celebrated his heroic virtues along with the exotic and engaging life of the wilds. Poets like William Blake, identifying the western country with pristine purity, thought of it as a blank tablet on which was to be penned a new chapter in man's history even more glorious than that being written on the Atlantic seaboard. This picture of the West as a Utopia for dreamy idealists had little influence in the East, but the somewhat less overdrawn picture of glamorous adventure was not without effect; the vision of the wilderness as an ever-beckoning finger of opportunity lured many a man across the mountains.

The West of legend did not exert unbridled sway over the minds of men and women. As the *Jesuit Relations* testify, some of the *voyageurs* and Catholic missionaries had provided accurate information regarding the Mississippi country. Realistic notes had been struck by the Jesuit explorer Charlevoix and by such English colonial trail breakers as Daniel Coxe, Christopher Gist, and James Adair. Some of the narratives of captivity among the Indians were marked by a kind of stark realism. And an increasing number of travelers expressed disillusionment with the meanness of the frontier. The French scientist Volney had been one of the first to do so. In the early years of the nineteenth century Englishmen, drawn to the West by curiosity and lust for adventure or by hope of gain, painted it in their travel books in the blackest hue. They dwelt on its unhealthfulness, its infertility, its poverty; they condemned

in order that the East might become more attractive to the ambitious among her poorer sons.

Fear of the West sometimes gave rise to serious efforts to reclaim it by the spread of God's word. The movement to send missionaries from the East to the West, it will be recalled, was in one of its aspects part of the conservative reaction against the Enlightenment. Catherine Beecher in writing to Mary Lyon expressed a widely held view: "If we gain all we are aiming at in Foreign Missions & *the West* is lost all is lost!" The home missionary movement was to influence profoundly American intellectual development. Missionaries in the West advanced such all-important agencies of intellectual life as the school, college, and church, and did much to inculcate respect for law and property rights. At the same time their reports to the East helped discredit the older romantic legend of the West.

In the Great Revival of 1800 western evangelists had sung:

Come hungry, come thirsty, come ragged, come bare,  
Come filthy, come lousy, come just as you are.

The response was striking, but religious indifference remained widespread. In 1812 two young eastern missionaries, Samuel Mills and John Schermerhorn, toured the West and reported that in spite of revivalism, in spite of the efforts to send Bibles and missionaries into the wilderness, lawlessness, sin, and skepticism prevailed in vast stretches of the western country. Even when allowances are made for the Presbyterian tendency to regard any deviation from orthodoxy as skepticism, it is plain that there must have been much irreligion. At the time it was regarded as evidence of growing irreligion that lawyers in their fear of sectarian domination sometimes persuaded legislators to make no mention of religion in educational charters. According to general report, rowdiness, swearing, drinking, gambling, fighting, Sabbath-breaking, and other impieties were the order of the day in many part of the West. "It is of high importance," wrote Samuel Mills of Indiana, "that the standard of truth should be immediately planted here. . . ."<sup>1</sup> The herculean Methodist missionary bishop, Francis Asbury, wrote from the West in 1797: "When I reflect that not one in a hundred came here to get religion; but rather to get plenty of good land, I think it will be well if some or

<sup>1</sup> Samuel J. Mills and Daniel Smith, *Report of a Missionary Tour*. . . (Andover 1815), 16.

The humanitarian ideals of the Enlightenment and of liberal Christianity found expression in the West. Elisha Bates, a Quaker of Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, made the *Moral Advocate* the mouthpiece of a crusade against intemperance, capital punishment, dueling, war, and slavery. In 1830 the periodical edited at Vandalia, Illinois, by the liberal-minded Judge James Hall included a remarkable sketch on social justice. In a dream the artisans of St. Louis were seen crying for bread and frantically plundering the demolished buildings of their exacting and pressing employers, to be at length shot down by troops. The moral was that only by ceasing to be reckless of each other's welfare could men prevent such dire calamities.

Community experiments designed to eliminate exploitation of human beings were by no means confined to the West, but its vast spaces seemed to be especially congenial to the promoters of Utopian enterprises. Frances Wright, a Scottish freethinker, feminist, and friend of humanity, established on the banks of the Mississippi near Memphis a community intended to demonstrate the feasibility of emancipating slaves through the accumulated profits of their labor. Although she failed to make her community, Nashoba, a success, she never lost faith in the ideal and program it exemplified. Robert Owen's community experiment on the banks of the Wabash met with only slightly greater success. Having experimented with profit sharing at New Lanark, Scotland, Owen came to the United States to elaborate his "new idea of society" under more favorable conditions. The communal society of the Rappites in Indiana was purchased in 1825 and within a few months a group of outstanding liberal thinkers, including eminent natural scientists, had been assembled. Though Owen's New Harmony community did not prove harmonious and soon collapsed, its enlightened educational program continued for some time to exert an influence.

In reviewing Owen's *A New View of Society* the editor of the *Cincinnati Literary Gazette* declared that "there are no people, probably, in the world, who are so ready to make experiments respecting social relations and domestic arrangements, as those of the western country, —none who are so little fettered by established habits, or who are less disposed to consider hereditary prejudices and heirlooms which cannot be parted with."<sup>6</sup> Timothy Flint, another literary figure in Cincinnati, expressed qualified sympathy with Owen's environmentalist views of human nature, and wished him well.

<sup>6</sup> *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, III (June 18, 1825), 193.



labor never ceased from morn to night, from winter to summer. Forests had to be cleared. If surplus grain could by good fortune be harvested, it had to be marketed by perilous raft voyages down turbulent rivers. The picturesque boat songs the rivermen sang were useful in helping them over the rough places:

Some rows up, but we rows down,  
All the way to Shawnee town,  
Pull away! pull away!

Pioneers also often suffered from hunger and cold, from malaria and other baffling ailments; and since danger came quickly and help was often far distant, they sometimes fell back on remedies first learned in the childhood of the race, remedies they may have heard of as children in their old homes. Sometimes there was failure. This necessitated turning back toward the East or striking off to new frontiers or sticking it out. The last decision sometimes involved frustration, mental conflict, nostalgia, bitterness, and gloom.

Under such conditions intellectual life of a formal kind had little place. Much that the pioneer had learned in the newspapers, schools, churches, and libraries of his old home, if he had come in close contact with these, was now useless and often forgotten. Even if it was not forgotten—and it often of course was not—conditions made it difficult if not impossible to establish agencies of cultural life. Many men and more women yearned for the amenities of the old life but found no satisfactory way of realizing them. As one pioneer preacher put it, "Men must have bread before books. Men must build barns before they establish colleges. Men must learn the language of the rifle, the axe and the plough, before they learn the lessons of Grecian and Roman philosophy and history; and to those pursuits was the early American intellect obliged to devote itself, by a sort of simple and hearty and constant consecration."<sup>7</sup> Since first things come first, the typical frontiersman in the earlier stages of his life in the new country opposed taxes for anything save absolute necessities, chiefly defense and roads. No sooner had these been in some measure secured than hard times came, when the pioneer found himself in debt to land promoters, the government, or perhaps eastern creditors. Thus until the hardest battles had been won, until the most pressing material wants had been met, there could be little thought of schools, of

<sup>7</sup> William H. Milburn, *The Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1860), 391-392.

cation, was natural enough. Self-reliant and versatile by necessity, the frontiersmen distrusted the claims of the expert. Ignorant of any way of life except his own, the pioneer was apt to ridicule the man of learning. Indeed, much of the learning represented by scholars on the frontier was, as it appeared to the untutored, dry, cold, and impractical. Furthermore, educated men frequently expected deference and respect. To the democratic frontiersman this was still further occasion for resentment, for, in the words of a keen observer, Judge James Hall, the pioneer would not be "patronized or high-hatted."

One consequence of this anti-intellectualism was to deepen still further the gulf between the "highbrow" and the "lowbrow." Another was to encourage some educated men to conceal their learning. As Timothy Flint, himself a scholar and at the same time a champion of the West, remarked, "An unwarrantable disdain keeps back the better informed and more powerful minds from displaying themselves."<sup>9</sup> John Reynolds, who in spite of the educational limitations of the West acquired some part of a classical training, concealed such culture as he had when he electioneered, feigning ignorance out of deference to popular prejudice against "book larnin'."

The anti-intellectualism of the common man was confirmed by unlettered preachers. The disparagement of learning by these men was partly based on the conviction that head-religion was inferior to, and in fact antagonistic toward, heart-religion. On its highest level this position was illustrated by the remarks of John Strange, one of the greatest of the circuit riders. His alma mater, he remarked, was "Brush College, more ancient, though less pretentious, than Yale, or Harvard, or Princeton. Here I graduated and I love her memory still . . . her curriculum is the philosophy of nature and the mysteries of redemption; her library is the word of God; the discipline and the hymn book, supplemented with trees and brooks and stones, all of which are full of wisdom and sermons and speeches; and her parchments of literary honors are the horse and saddle bags."<sup>10</sup>

James Hall, in *Legends of the West*, noted a different brand of anti-intellectualism. A certain "Father Bangs" wrote a tract to show that thirst for human knowledge drove our first parents from paradise, and that "through the whole course of succeeding time school learning had

<sup>9</sup> Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (Boston, 1826), 49.

<sup>10</sup> J. C. Smith, *Reminiscences of Early Methodism in Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1879), 38-39.

country. Of great importance was the presence of a few men and women of education among the majority of simple, untutored pioneers. Like the rest, the men and women of refinement and mental training who did not return East had to subordinate these values to the exigencies of the new situation. But they could not entirely surrender all their past habits and tastes, and they clung to the few books they could bring with them as symbols of the world of learning. Thus the father of John Reynolds of Illinois, being a reading man, bent every effort to supplement the single book he possessed, the Bible, by other fare; Rollin's *Ancient History* was borrowed, and his son read and reread it. When at last an opportunity came for the son to attend a crude school, this pioneer succeeded in buying a geography and an astronomy textbook to the amazement of his son, who had never even imagined that such knowledge existed. Another example was the miner whom Charles Fenno Hoffman observed at Galena, Illinois. Unable to part with his books, he cherished an old Bible, a Shakespeare, a Pelham novel, and a *Western Songster*. In the Western Reserve Zerah Hawley admitted that most families from New England had three or four books. Cultured Southerners on the southwestern frontier sometimes succeeded in taking some books with them. One in the wilds of Mississippi, for example, owned volumes of Burns, Cowper, Sterne, Young, and other classics. To his surprise an English traveler found a farmer in Tennessee who owned several standard works in poetry, theology, history, philosophy, and science. Such cherishing of books under frontier conditions not only met certain psychological needs on the part of their possessors but preserved a continuity with the culture of the older areas of the country.

To meet the psychological need for continuity with the intellectual culture to which they had been accustomed, families of education, if remote from others of like mind and able to afford it, employed a teacher for their children. More frequently, especially in the country north of the Ohio, families banded together and employed a teacher who instructed the young, at first perhaps in one of their own houses. Just as the social life of house-raising on the frontier was a by-product of the need for mutual help, so were the beginnings of organized intellectual life.

Certain families sometimes launched a subscription library equally unpretentious and similarly supported by voluntary contributions. Thus in 1804 the little community of New Englanders that had only sixteen

Presbyterians and Methodists stimulated the promotion of institutions for theological training. Asbury's *Journal* shows that he was something of a scholar in his reading tastes and that he gave much aid to educational enterprises. After plowing through the wilderness for eight days to attend the first Methodist Conference in Kentucky in the spring of 1790, Asbury and six other preachers planned for a future college and obtained by subscription land and money for what eventually was to become Bethel College. One preacher knew "many a man who could not construct a half dozen sentences grammatically to bestow half of his yearly stipend to establish an institution of learning."<sup>14</sup> By 1824 the General Conference of the Methodist Church in the West was committed to an active educational program. No one could have been more self-sacrificing or more zealous than the Baptist missionary on the Illinois frontier, John M. Peck. Everywhere he gave himself to establishing elementary schools and to improving those that existed. He endured 4000 miles of travel to raise funds for Rock Spring Seminary, the forerunner of Shurtleff College.

Itinerant preachers in the new lands distributed Bibles, hymnbooks, and religious tracts. These were often provided by eastern missionary societies or by printing concerns under the control of the church itself. After 1817 the American Tract Society furnished much religious literature, which circuit riders scattered. In many cases such books were the only ones a family possessed, and children learned to read from them. No doubt some who later became scholars entered on the path of learning in just such a way. "It has often been a question that I shall never be able to answer on earth," observed Peter Cartwright, one of the best known of the circuit riders, "whether I have done the most good by preaching or distributing religious books. . . . For more than fifty years I have firmly believed, that it was a part and parcel of a Methodist preacher's most sacred duty to circulate good books wherever they go among the people."<sup>15</sup> Cartwright himself in a single year sometimes distributed a thousand dollars' worth of such books.

Johnny Appleseed (John Chapman, ca. 1775-1847) was no Baptist or Methodist, but like these itinerants he scattered religious tracts in pioneer cabins. Best known for planting appleseeds in advance of civilization in the Ohio country, Johnny Appleseed, companion of forest

<sup>14</sup> William H. Milburn, *op. cit.*, 267.

<sup>15</sup> *The Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* (New York, 1857), 279-280.

tunities for the growth of intellectual life. The spokesmen for the new towns and cities—their newspaper editors, their professional men and promoters—tended to exaggerate both the quality and the quantity of the local culture. But within the rhetoric and the braggadocio lay an element of truth. The towns because of their relatively dense populations could support newspapers, libraries, and other agencies without which even the beginnings of a transit of culture would have been impossible.

By virtue of the fact that from the start towns had certain economic functions they attracted a larger proportion of men of some intellectual training than did the country districts. The business of the land offices required the services of surveyors; and the courts and territorial legislatures which frequently migrated from town to town necessitated the presence of printers and lawyers, the function of the latter becoming more important as inevitable squabbles over land titles filled the courts with litigation. Merchants functioning as the needed distributors of consumers' goods had to possess at least a limited knowledge of accounts and found it expedient to keep somewhat abreast of the conditions of trade. Printers were needed to supply information regarding the distribution of goods, the business of local courts and legislatures, and other matters of practical concern. As the community developed into a distributing center for the surrounding country, physicians also found larger opportunities and were less frequently compelled to eke out a living by conducting apothecary shops and by farming.

The growing towns also required the services of ministers and teachers. A considerable number of people were deeply religious and naturally wanted ministers and churches to help fulfill their spiritual needs. Some also valued the church as a stabilizing force, a symbol of respectability. Teachers were required to train a rising company of surveyors, clerks, lawyers, doctors, and ministers. Many also believed that education was necessary for the well-being of religion, of the state, and of society itself. By 1830 Louisville, Lexington, Cincinnati, and Detroit were well in advance of other western communities in public education. Towns quickly caught the enthusiastic promotional fever, developed a sense of civic pride, and, when means permitted, sought prestige by imitating the architectural vogue of the East in the schools, courthouses, and churches that replaced the early primitive structures.

The presence in every town of a certain number of men and women who represented the tradition of culture and education provided a basis

the older parts of the country, in addition to their immediate tasks, sponsored the broader development of intellectual life. The Reverend Timothy Flint, a well-educated New Englander, went into the Ohio valley in 1815 in search of health. Besides carrying on his missionary activities he journeyed about the West before settling down in Cincinnati, where he wrote his famous *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826), *A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States* (1828), and his novels, and where in 1827 he launched the *Western Monthly Review*. An equally important figure was Judge James Hall of Philadelphia, whose family had been connected with *The Port Folio* and other magazines. After service in the War of 1812, Hall migrated to the West, succeeded in law, and in 1830 established at Vandalia the *Illinois Monthly*. He had meantime published his *Letters from the West*, a remarkable account of the geography, people, manners, and life of the frontier country. A third representative of this large group of eastern migrants to whom the West owed so much of its intellectual development was Caleb Atwater, the versatile, eccentric, and somewhat visionary New Englander who, after graduating from Williams College and teaching for a time in New York City, became a Presbyterian minister and settled in Circleville, Ohio, in 1815. Atwater, in addition to his services to the church, practiced law, labored for the establishment of Ohio's school system, and did pioneer work in archeology and ethnology. These men, it must be remembered, are representative of many others who contributed to the growth of intellectual life in western towns and cities.

But soon intellectual activities in the new country were also furthered by some of its own sons. Apprenticing themselves to printers, doctors, and lawyers who had obtained their own training in the East, ambitious lads started out on their own to make their fortune and to supply the new country with the services it increasingly needed. Many of these men had no training other than that acquired in elementary schools and in the shops and offices of their masters. To supplement their training some managed to make the long journey to the seaboard, and a few the even longer one to Europe. Thus the second step in the transit of culture to the frontier was, as Dixon Ryan Fox has pointed out, the sojourn of natives of the new country in older seats of learning.

In this category of men none was so outstanding as Dr. Daniel Drake of Cincinnati, sometimes called "the Franklin of the West." His parents took him at the age of three from New Jersey to Kentucky, where he

organized a medical faculty at Transylvania University in Lexington. This faculty included such well-known men as Charles Caldwell, who had been trained in Philadelphia and in Paris and who introduced phrenology into the West; Dr. Joseph Buchanan, a thinker of vigor and of some independence; and, for a time, Daniel Drake. In spite of the great difficulty of importing books and apparatus from the East and from Europe, and notwithstanding the personal quarrels of its staff during the 1820s, the Transylvania Medical School became nationally famous. With less success Dr. Drake tried to establish medical schools in Cincinnati. He achieved somewhat happier results as a pioneer of medical journalism in the Ohio valley.

At Transylvania a law faculty was also established, and theological instruction was offered at virtually all of the rising colleges. In 1831 Cincinnati saw the beginning of the professional education of teachers, when the Western Literary Institute began its notable work. Thus by that year the West had begun to establish agencies of professional training which made it less dependent on an imported supply of doctors, teachers, ministers, lawyers, and educators.

In still other ways towns became intellectual focal centers. The mere presence of groups of men with a background of education and culture, together with the costliness of books for individual purchase, accounted for the rise of various types of libraries. In general these followed the pattern of the proprietary, subscription, and "social" libraries of the East. Often printers and bookdealers launched these libraries; sometimes public-spirited citizens took the first steps; and in other instances the characteristically American method of voluntary association by like-minded people was followed. In 1814 the several circulating libraries in Pittsburgh, chiefly of a joint-stock type, united to form the Pittsburgh Permanent Library; and in 1823 the free Apprentice Library got under way to meet the interests and needs of a growing social-economic group. Libraries appeared in Lexington in 1795, in Cincinnati in 1802, and in Athens and Dayton, Ohio, in the years immediately following.

The first generally accessible library in Cincinnati was the Apprentice's Library, which was established by private subscription in 1824. Libraries also existed at Vincennes (1808), Detroit (1817), Louisville (1816), the English settlements at Albion, Illinois (1818), and St. Louis (1824). While of course these libraries were all small, they provided opportunities for keeping abreast with new books as well as for reading

at the University of Nashville, for which the Dutch naturalist, Dr. Gerard Troost, was responsible.

Even in a frontier society the esthetic side of life was not completely ignored. In the vast rural districts the popular musical expressions were the melancholy, mystical, and militant gospel hymns of the revival and the Psalms of David, along with the traditional ballads and the indigenous boatman's songs, and such ballads as "The Michigan Emigrant's Song," "Western Trappers' Camp Song," and "The Gallant Old Backwoodsman." In towns and cities professional concert artists appeared on tours as early as 1812. In Bardstown, Kentucky, a German immigrant, Anthony P. Heinrich, in 1818 began his career as a composer; *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky* (1820) was a collection of compositions for the piano, violin, and voice which had taken shape in a region where hardly a day before, as it were, the first pioneers were struggling with the Indians for their lives.

While esthetic interests, like zeal for religion and education, sometimes reflected the persistence of old tastes and habits on the frontier, their career in the new country was furthered by their utilitarian functions. Thus at the shop of David Guion, a Cincinnati stonemason, young Shobal Vail Clevenger, in learning how to carve allegorical reliefs for gravestones, laid the foundation for the achievements that by 1836 were to make him well known as a sculptor. In some instances the arts received patronage because they lent prestige to the families that were, or aspired to be, superior in status to their neighbors. In the larger towns foreign gentlemen taught painting to the daughters of the merchants and professional leaders, and did portraits of the local gentry.

Chester Harding, an American who had taken up sign painting in Pittsburgh after the close of the War of 1812, found many clients in Paris, Kentucky, who were quite ready to pay him \$25 per portrait; only the appearance of hard times cut short his career in Cincinnati. Although he did not fare too well in St. Louis, he added to his fame by seeking out the venerable Daniel Boone in his faraway cabin and startled the weather-beaten pioneer and his progeny by producing a likeness such as their untutored minds had never even imagined. In 1829 another artist, George Catlin of Philadelphia and Washington, started on his western tours to paint portraits of the Indians and their way of life—pictures which demonstrated that the West had a body of native material awaiting the hand of creative artists.

The theater was primarily an agency for the recreation of town



culture of the West dealt with the peculiar characteristics of the new country. While the government-sponsored expeditions to the Far West enabled Lewis and Clark, Pike, Schoolcraft, and Long to add much information to the existing knowledge of that vast hinterland, the broad outlines of knowledge of the Ohio country were being filled in and sharpened. Sometimes local pride was largely responsible for these undertakings. Dr. Daniel Drake, for instance, was inspired by a desire to publicize his beloved Ohio valley—witness his *Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country* (1815). Gazetteers of the more pretentious and valuable sort, such as Dana's *Geographical Sketches of the Western Country* (1819), were designed to aid prospective immigrants in selecting intelligently the kinds of land best suited to their purposes. Sheer love of increasing the fund of knowledge also moved the scientist in the new country. This in large part explains the heroic sacrifices of William Maclure, who crossed and recrossed the Alleghenies dozens of times to prepare the final version of *Observations on the Geology of the United States* (1817).

No less noteworthy were the contributions to the knowledge of the West's natural history. Thanks to Maclure, New Harmony became for a time the center of scientific work in this field. Gerard Troost, the Dutch naturalist who in the course of twenty years of world-wide travels had gathered a rich collection of specimens, did not, it is true, stay very long at Owen's community. In 1828 he accepted the professorship of the scientific branches at the University of Nashville and inaugurated his significant geological investigations of Tennessee. But Thomas Say, a Philadelphian, remained at New Harmony until his death in 1834. The discoverer of more new insects than any other American naturalist, Say also called attention to the chronological value of fossils. His contributions to the learned publications of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science and to the Linnaean Society in London made him a major figure in the fields of conchology and entomology. The third and last volume of his *American Entomology* was published at New Harmony in 1828, and his *American Conchology* was issued from the School Press of New Harmony two years later. Some of its drawings were from the hand of Charles Lesueur, a French naturalist who cooperated with Maclure, Troost, and Say in making scientific surveys in Indiana and the surrounding states.

Natural history owed much to the work of other pioneers. Constantine

Canadian named St. Martin, whose stomach had been punctured by a gunshot wound. These investigations, first reported in the *Medical Recorder* in 1824, overthrew some prevalent theories of digestion and remain one of the notable contributions of nineteenth-century American medicine.

The prehistoric past of the West also fascinated men with a bent for scientific inquiry. Drake described the mounds in the Cincinnati region, but Caleb Atwater's work in this unique field was of greater significance. Atwater personally examined the mounds and made drawings and accurate descriptions—an invaluable contribution in view of the hasty destruction of many of them by settlers. He took care to check his findings by referring to Roman accounts of backward peoples and travelers' descriptions of existing primitive tribes in various parts of the world. His contributions to the proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, beginning in 1820, were subsequently collected as *A Description of the Antiquities Discovered in the State of Ohio and other Western States*. At least one independent mind challenged his theories of racial origin. Writing in the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, this critic disputed Atwater's contention that the Ohio country was once the seat of an advanced culture related to that of the Aztecs and ultimately to that of the Tartars. The theory that this culture had vanished with the invading and conquering ancestors of the Indians was also challenged. Atwater's work was outstanding, and his theory regarding the uses of the various earthworks was in a general way confirmed by later archeologists.

Others turned their attention to the existing primitive peoples. Joseph Doddridge, an Episcopal missionary, provided an enlightening description of Indian character. Henry Schoolcraft's account of Indian customs and folklore, however faulty, opened a new source of materials for American literature; and John Heckewelder's descriptions of the Indians of the upper Ohio, where he had labored many years as a Moravian missionary, likewise presented the Indian in terms more sympathetic than was customary in frontiersmen's thoughts. Dictionaries of the Indian tongues, such as that by Atwater on the Sioux languages, proved to be contributions of lasting value.

New though the West was, its more intellectually minded residents spared no effort to preserve the memories and traditions of the first settlers and all documentary accounts on which they could lay hands. Humphry Marshall's *The History of Kentucky* (1812), though biased by

unique significance, for, it was held, life in the West had brought out new moral characteristics, such as individuality, heroism, independence, vigor, perseverance, generosity, and enthusiasm for liberty. A homespun democracy, in short, had been realized on the frontier and must now be reflected in a distinctive literature. Hitherto, insisted Caleb Atwater, poets, orators, historians, and novelists had done little for the great mass of the people. They had "employed themselves in placing on the very front of the stage, the warriors, the kings, the nobles, the rich, the proud, the haughty, standing on stilts or in buckskins, while the common people were seated, out of our sight, behind them."<sup>18</sup>

In addition to celebrating such allegedly frontier traits, western literary enthusiasts of course favored proper attention to the unique natural scenery of the new country—the majestic rhythm of the Mississippi, the mysterious forests, the prairie sun. And in spite of the tendency of many aspiring western writers to imitate classical forms the value of purely utilitarian books was not overlooked. In reviewing the *Western Agriculturist* James Hall declared that "in a country like ours, where every thing should be measured by its usefulness, the exertions of those who point out new paths of industry to the people, and explain the means of rendering labour more productive than it has been, are entitled to great respect."<sup>19</sup>

With such values in mind, western literary enthusiasts believed with Timothy Flint that "amidst the freshness of our unspoiled nature, beneath the shade of the huge sycamores of the Miami, or cooling the forehead in the breeze of the beautiful Ohio, and under the canopy of our Italian sky, other circumstances being equal, a man might write as well as in the dark dens of the city."<sup>20</sup> "The time is at hand," he continued, "when the political and moral claims of this great region, will be as well understood, and as promptly admitted, as its physical extent and resources are at present."<sup>21</sup>

It proved to be extremely hard to find sufficient patronage for the literary reviews that appeared, and there was a wide gulf between the aspirations for a uniquely western literature and the actual achievements. Even Flint could not muster enough western patriotism to praise such

<sup>18</sup> *The Writings of Caleb Atwater* (Columbus, 1833), 381–382.

<sup>19</sup> *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, I (March, 1831), 288.

<sup>20</sup> *Western Monthly and Review*, I (May, 1827), 10.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, iv.

the West. We have seen what leading Easterners thought of the intellectual life of the new lands; we have considered what the West's actual contributions were in the building of institutions and of ideas; and we have asked what leading Westerners thought of themselves. What of the plain people of the West? How if at all did their ideas differ from those of their fellows in the East?

In seeking to answer our question we must remember that the thought of the period might be expected to differ according to the stage of immigration represented (whether the early pioneer stage or the later stages in the transit of ideas), according to social, religious, and economic groupings, and according to residence in the wilderness itself or in a growing town. Yet it is possible that certain broader aspects of western thought, more or less transcending such differences, may usefully be distinguished.

The thought of ordinary western pioneers can be inferred only from indirect sources—from their songs and proverbs, their jokes and stories, the letters some of them were able to write back home, from almanacs and the like, and from those newspapers and magazines that soon sprang up in the cities and were read by some portion of the literate. Their mode of thought can also be inferred, to a certain extent, from their ways of daily living. The scantiness and unreliability of such materials and the uncertainty of oral tradition make it impossible for the historian to say with any great confidence what the common people of those days in the West thought about the world in which they lived.

The background of their thought was the same as that of Easterners and Europeans, for they were all immigrants from older regions—they were the heirs of western European thought, the inheritors of a Christian tradition, and, in the main, the descendants of Englishmen. As such there was, of course, implicit in their thought the acceptance of a life of action and hard work; the life of contemplation played no part in popular thought. Although the dualism of mind and body was a part of their Christian heritage, otherworldliness was not unduly emphasized—the early Puritanism of the blue-law type had been modified even in the colonial period, and in the eastern states it had become considerably altered.

In the new West the forms of religious life of course greatly changed. Where churches were at first absent, then few in number, religious observances could naturally not be maintained; where a population was so

men used to blood and violence helps us to realize that the cruelty and injustice toward the Indian on which some early travelers comment was indeed a reality in the West and a factor in the bitter enmity that persisted. Cruelty begets cruelty. There is no doubt that the Indian was not the only one who cherished unreasoning hatred and executed deeds of revenge. Mere physical prowess was glorified in pioneer times. The tall tales of the early 1800s, illustrated by the deeds of Mike Fink the riverman, lay special emphasis on the tremendous strength of the hero. Mike Fink was only one of the giants of those days, one of a line of American folk heroes of great strength.

Another trait much developed in the West was pride in place and country. The western settlers, perhaps feeling deep down a little inferior to the cultured Easterners who traveled among them, but undoubtedly genuinely rejoicing in the fertility and promise of the new country, were apt to be loud in its praises and resentful of criticisms. Thus a critical visitor, whether an Easterner or a European, might provoke boastfulness or abuse of the East from the same people who would receive an appreciative traveler with generous welcome. This consideration helps explain discrepancies in accounts of early travelers. The British, for example, often found the natives uncouth and surly and impertinent. That there was uncouthness is unquestioned; and there must have been some surliness, but that it was highly characteristic of the pioneer is doubtful.

In fact the friendliness and the natural curiosity of these dwellers in the wilderness may well have occasioned criticisms of their impertinence by English and other "foreign" travelers. Actually the common enterprise, the hospitality and neighborliness that were inseparable from life in the new country gave rise to a friendliness of which many American observers of the time were proud. Pioneer conditions were inevitably levelers of rank and station; and a great pride in democracy, in being able to speak one's mind, to dress as one liked, to think one's own thoughts could flourish more readily on western than on eastern soil. The West undoubtedly had all the virtues and all the vices of the parent East, but as some of the vices flourished more luxuriantly in open spaces, so did some of the democratic virtues; American democracy was growing.

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# Democratic Upheaval

## New Currents of Equalitarianism

*The age of philosophy has passed, and left few memorials of its existence. That of glory has vanished, and nothing but a painful tradition of human suffering remains. That of utility has commenced, and it requires little warmth of imagination to anticipate for it a reign lasting as time, and radiant with the wonders of unveiled nature.*

—WILLIS HALL, 1844

*Our religion has been Judaized; it has been Romanized; it has been orientalized, it has been Anglicized, and the time is at hand when it must be Americanized. Every age has to shape the Divine image it worships over again—the present age and all our own country are busily engaged in the task at the time.*

—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, 1859

In the 1830s and 1840s the plain people took a more active role than ever before in intellectual life and were the object of greater interest on the part of scholars and writers. This development accompanied the advance of political and social democracy which in turn owed much to the continued growth of the West, the advance of industries and cities,

are not indifferent to their support at home, and we regret the despotic attitude of the Slave Power at the South, and the domineering ascendancy of the Monied Oligarchy in the North as equally hostile to the interests of labor, and incompatible with the preservation of popular rights."<sup>2</sup>

### The Impact of Industrialism

Of the forces that were transforming western Europe none was more important than the advance of industrialism, an historical experience which the northeastern states in America shared. The progress of industrial development in New England and the middle states, affecting as it did all parts of the land, enhanced the power of the common man in many respects; it promoted both his comfort and his chances for acquiring knowledge and culture.

The increased facilities provided by the new and more rapid means of communication for moving to places in which opportunities promised to be more abundant greatly increased the average person's sense of power. The common man was no longer anchored as he had been in earlier times; he could more readily try his fortune in the rising cities or the growing West. He often met reverses, but he often succeeded too.

In addition to improvements in steamboats and the successful advance of the steam railroad, a series of inventions similarly enhanced the power and comfort of the common man. The electric telegraph (1844) brought him news from distant places in an incredibly short time and greatly widened his horizons. In 1847 the Hoe rotary press facilitated the cheap production of newspapers on a mass scale; in consequence virtually for the first time, he could buy newspapers as a matter of course. In 1828 the annual circulation of newspapers was about six for each individual in the country; in 1850 it was approximately twenty-two. In 1840 Dr. John Draper of New York University took what was apparently the first complete photograph ever made by sunlight; the way was open for familiarizing the common man with far places and peoples. The new lithograph process, commercialized and dramatized by Currier and Ives, brought into his own home realistic records of actual events—fires, races, wrecks,

<sup>2</sup> Cited in George E. McNeill, *The Labor Movement* (Boston and New York, 1887), 115.



The ranks of the laborers often included journalists, professional men, and even merchants and bankers, men who were interested in opposing monopoly in order to open the way for their own economic advancement. Nevertheless, the demands included in the programs of the labor organizations were aimed at creating a greater equality of opportunity for all members of society. Two demands received the heaviest emphasis: the abolition of imprisonment for debt and the creation of a system of free public education. The workingmen's societies also promoted libraries and other devices for self-improvement. Thus they helped open the way for the diffusion of knowledge among the plain people.

### The Development of Equalitarian Thought

Alongside increased participation by the common man in the nation's social, political, and intellectual life, there grew up a rhetorical rationale for democracy. This rationale owed much to older "republican" formulations, and it did not receive a definitive statement at the hands of any single American thinker of the 1830s and 1840s. Rather, it was a congeries of assumptions, attitudes, and opinions meant to explain and promote the rise of the common man. Democratic ideas formed a platform for those who wished to alter the political system received from the founding fathers.

Jeffersonian and Federalist political theories had agreed in one important respect. They both distinguished between citizenship and suffrage. All men born into the community might be citizens and share the rights of citizens. But suffrage was a privilege, and should be restricted to those with a proper stake—usually an economic stake—in society. The innovation of democratic theory in the 1830s and 1840s was the idea that suffrage, no less than citizenship, belonged to every man. The democratically oriented intellectuals were ready at hand with theoretical rationalizations for this development. James Fenimore Cooper, despite his Jeffersonian and aristocratic fear of "demagoguery," wrote that America had "come to the conclusion, that it is scarcely worth while to do so much violence to natural justice, without sufficient reason, as to disfranchise a man merely because he is poor." Attacking a favorite conservative comparison of governments and private corporations, Cooper continued: "A man may be a voluntary associate in a joint-stock company, and justly have a right to a participation in its management . . .

came the generous benefactor of a school for the blind. Such men as the Lawrences, the Lowells, the Lennoxes, and the Stuarts endowed many an educational cause and numberless worthy charities. According to Francis Bowen, professor at Harvard and an exponent of a conservative social philosophy, "the sums which are contributed here [in the United States] by individuals for the support of schools, colleges, churches, missions, hospitals, and institutions of science and beneficence, put to shame the official liberality of the oldest and wealthiest governments in Europe."<sup>6</sup>

Several factors explain the growth of philanthropy as a response to urban and industrial ills. The Christian doctrine of the stewardship of great riches, which taught the responsibility of the rich for the poor, can hardly be overemphasized. The desire for prestige also counted. As Francis Bowen put it, "The most natural and sensible way of deriving personal gratification from newly acquired wealth, and of making a show of it in the eyes of the world, is to give largely to public charities."<sup>7</sup> The use of philanthropy as a part of the defense of business against the criticisms of radical theorists and class-conscious urban workers was less general in this period than in the post-Civil War era, but it was not absent. George Hillard, an able legal representative of the conservative interests of Boston, declared in the Massachusetts Convention of 1853 that he had often felt, and sometimes said, that

in our great cities, the aggregation of immense wealth at one end of the scale, and the increasing amount of hopeless poverty at the other, did involve an element of peril to wealth itself, and that the moment the rich men forget the duties of property, the moment that they cease to bridge this interval between themselves and the poor by the perpetual exercise of sympathy, and by the constant recognition of a common humanity and a common brotherhood, then their wealth would be in danger of falling upon the mercy of the merciless. And it is only in this—it is only in the moral element, flowing from Christianity and humanity, that a corrective is to be found to the danger which always threatens a country in which, while the rich are growing richer, the poor are growing poorer.<sup>8</sup>

If it was exceptional for anyone in high position to admit such pronounced extremes of wealth, it was by no means unusual for the apolo-

<sup>6</sup> Francis Bowen, *The Principles of Political Economy* (Boston, 1859), 545.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Massachusetts Official Report of the Debates and Proceedings in the State Convention of 1853* (Boston, 1854), 11, 131.

and far reaching the devices by which private gain and public advantage were to be ultimately harmonized, the reconciliation was certain, in Bowen's mind. Only in the relations of one nation with another was the principle of *laissez faire* inoperable and undemocratic; each nation, the argument ran, was the natural economic unit the inner harmony of which was never to be disturbed by governmental regulations. But since economic life followed national lines, the citizens of each nation must be protected through tariffs against those living in lands with lower living standards. Bowen was certain that perfectly free competition would "tend slowly but irresistibly to the equalization of wealth. . . ."<sup>10</sup>

In identifying the principles of *laissez faire* with an ultimate tendency toward equality, Bowen was following in a long tradition of nineteenth-century moral philosophy. The clergymen who taught moral philosophy—a pot pourri of philosophy, sociology, political science, economics, and family life—in American colleges during the first half of the nineteenth century were almost unanimous in their support of the principles of property rights and economic liberty. One of the earliest of the moral philosophers, Samuel Stanhope Smith, taught a generation of Princeton students that the function of government was to protect property. The law of supply and demand was an inviolable law of nature, which no early "law or authority of the state could alter without violence to liberty and manifest injury to the interests of trade." Francis Wayland, president of Brown University and author of the most popular text on "moral science," also supported a strict *laissez faire* position. State aid for the poor was perhaps the most contemptible of all kinds of legislation, Wayland argued: "Where poor rates [direct government aid] are highest, the poor will be found the most discontented and lawless and the most inveterate against the rich." Thus academic philosophers laid in the first half of the nineteenth century the basis for the business rationale of the latter half. They identified liberty almost exclusively with the right to hold and use property. The only practicable kind of equality they would admit was that equality which competition might tend to produce. And they equated these conceptions of liberty and equality with democracy by arguing that the best interests of the common man, even of the poor, would be served by a policy of *laissez faire*.

When urban workers and proslavery critics of industrialism maintained that the factory system was autocratic, apologists for business

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 505.

security against the power of a majority which might, in its lust for power and gold, destroy the whole fabric. The American political system, declared Rufus Choate in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1853, while "purely and intensely republican," was designed to achieve two ends above all others, liberty and security. To accomplish this two-fold object, two sets of institutions were created by the fathers in the fullness of their wisdom. The one set was intended to bring out

the popular will in its utmost intensity of utterance; . . . In this great mansion of liberty resided free elections, a majority voice in the popularly chosen legislatures, a free press, and liberty of worship. The other set was designed to secure the life, liberty, character, and property of each against majority will and power; in another quiet, smaller chamber, far from the torchlight processions, the emotional tugs of the polls and the legislative halls, sat the judiciary, devoted to restraint, reason, and security, the guarantee, in the last analysis, of democracy against itself.

Thus, instead of repudiating democracy as the southern proslavery apologists were to do, the champions of the rising industrialism interpreted it in such a way as to make it sanction the influence of the wealth that in the eyes of slaveowners and economic radicals alike threatened the very basis of democracy.

### Romanticism and Transcendentalism

The Romantic philosophy shared the individualism and optimism of business enterprise, but there the kinship was apt to end. The Romantic concern with nature and primitivism, with the remote in time and place, was a far cry from machines, shops, and offices. The fascination of the South Seas made it possible for Melville to forget foundries and factories. *Walden Pond* was Thoreau's antidote to railways and cities. Longfellow's recapture in *The Golden Legend* of the soul of the medieval monk and his embroidered pictures of the primitive red men were assertions of values remote from those of the new industrialism that was transforming America. The Romantic protest against urbanism and industrialism was shown in the rising vogue for Gothic cottages, for landscape gardens, for the picturesque and the monumental in natural scenery. Nathaniel P. Willis wrote his paean to the nation's natural beauty in *American*

tionship; the relegation of books to a secondary place in the hierarchy of values; the insistence that instinct is good and must be obeyed rather than curbed in accordance with conventions and authority—all these ideas were closely related to the democratic impulse. "Let man stand erect, go alone, and possess the universe," declared Emerson. The endless seeking, the glorification of the individual, and the social sympathies that characterized the thought of most of the Transcendentalists corresponded to the democratic doctrine that all men possess a sacred, irrevocable right to govern themselves and to reach for the stars. As Emerson put it, democracy has its root "in the sacred truth that every man hath in him the divine Reason." The plain corollary was that every man is capable of making this "divine reason" his guide in life.

Transcendentalists in the main opposed the idea that industrialism is democratic and desirable. Melville's criticisms of the factory and Thoreau's satires on the machine and on human exploitation for profit are less well known than their glorification of the primitive, but they are intrinsically a part of their thought. The whole Transcendentalist group, with Emerson in the lead, had much fault to find with the way in which industrialism glorified the "old Yankee trait of materialism." The Reverend Frederic Hedge spoke for his fellows in commenting on the dichotomy between scholarship and creative genius on the one hand and an industrial society on the other. The latter rewarded "none but those who will do its work, which if the scholar undertake, he must straightway neglect his own. . . . [In] an endless multiplication of physical conveniences—an infinite economy has become the *cultus*, the worship of the age. Religion itself has been forced to minister in this service."<sup>14</sup>

It remained for Theodore Parker to indict the materialistic and undemocratic aspects of industrialism in the most sweeping terms. He was aroused by the lot of the industrial laboring class. He had only scorn for "the institution of money—the master of all the rest." For the temporizing expediency, the inhumane and selfish principles and behavior of the moneyed class, he had only condemnation. Such a society in his eyes ran counter to the basic tenets of Christian Transcendentalism—the daily rebirth of God in each individual soul, the dictate that the divinity in man must rule the world, the truth that each man and woman, by virtue of being identical with nature, must enjoy equal rights and privileges. Parker developed the social implications of Transcendentalism further

<sup>14</sup> *The Dial*, I (October, 1840), 177–178.

cratization of religion. In the field of ecclesiastical organization many denominations reflected the democratic tendencies of the age by admitting the laity to a larger share in church government. Even within the Catholic church a group of laymen defied canon law by insisting on sharing with the clergy the control of church property. In still other respects ordinary people enjoyed greater freedom in religious matters. In 1818 Connecticut completed the process of separation of church and state; Massachusetts similarly terminated the traditional connection in 1833. This did not mean that the individual was free from the influence of community opinion, which was still largely dominant, especially in rural areas. But it did mean that the relationship between the individual and religion was less determined by the state or by a particular favored sect. The increasing secularization of life was also reflected in the relaxation of the traditionally strict observance of the Sabbath. It would be easy to overemphasize the extent of this relaxation, for strict Sabbaths were still kept in a great many places. Nevertheless, the tendency was clear. Religious practice was, in brief, becoming more largely a private matter, less markedly a public one. In view of the fact that secularism was making great advances and in view of the additional fact that Americans everywhere worshiped in a variety of ways, a voluntary relationship between the individual and religion was more democratic than the official or public relationship implied in established churches and legal regulations regarding conduct on the Sabbath.

The spirit of democracy was even more evident in matters of belief. Although free thought enjoyed relatively little influence in the 1830s and 1840s, its champions tried to identify it with the cause of the common man. Such leaders of the industrial workers as Robert Dale Owen, Frances Wright, and Thomas Skidmore espoused deism or agnosticism. *The Beacon*, a periodical launched in New York in 1840, coupled the cause of labor with the rejection of all religious theories. However strongly entrenched religious theories were under antiquated formulas and "pretended divine revelation," these theories, according to *The Beacon*, all failed when subjected to "open and fair investigation." In Boston orthodoxy was defied by Abner Kneeland, who actually declared in print that God is a chimera of the imagination, that the story of Christ is a fable, and that immortality is an impossibility. Though such blasphemy was gall and wormwood to many religious men and women of position, Kneeland could not be muffled.

tative ecclesiastical organizations than the phenomenon known as "come-outism." This tendency for men and women believing themselves inspired to set up new cults was partly the result of the doctrine of self-expression and partly a reflection of equalitarianism. To repressed and obscure souls with flaming ambitions the launching of a new gospel of salvation was a way out of their obscurity. Those who followed the new leaders similarly asserted their individuality and freedom in religious matters by defying established sects, authorities, and traditions. Largely but by no means solely a phenomenon of rural New England and the West, "come-outism" in religion was one of the striking evidences that the common man was in revolt.

The Shaker sect or United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing was an early illustration of democratic "come-outism." The foundress of the movement was an extremely humble, neurotic, and magnetic Englishwoman, Mother Ann Lee, who was given to religious prophecies and ecstasies. Her condemnation of marriage and her advocacy of celibacy, related no doubt to her own unhappy marital experiences, occasioned suspicion and enmity in the various neighborhoods in which she found herself after her arrival in America in 1774. The opposition to her and her followers was deepened by reason of her denunciation of all war and private property and her advocacy of the communal way of life. Mother Ann Lee also rejected many accepted religious beliefs, including the Atonement, the resurrection of the body, election, and the authority of the Bible. Each individual in the Shaker communities contributed in the course of everyday living to "new religious truths" which in turn were shared by others. Women were regarded as equal with men not only in their capacity to contribute to religious revelation but in all other matters.

The communal life of the dozen or more Shaker communities established by the end of the eighteenth century in New England, New York, Ohio, and Kentucky was also essentially democratic. All shared and shared joyously in the common tasks of the community; both Mother Ann and her competent successor, Lucy Wright, advocated the entire fusion of religion and work. All shared in the creation of the "gifts" or religious-esthetic worship through songs and dances. Although these dances and songs followed a general pattern, they were nevertheless always regarded as new living expressions designed to effect a progress from one spiritual level to another and higher one. In the same way the

ability and power, appealed to the common man in a period when he was emerging to a new consciousness of his actual and potential significance.

As the years passed, other leaders emerged with varying interpretations of the basic Perfectionist tenet that sin cannot exist in a state of sanctification. Oberlin in Ohio became a center of one interpretation, Oneida in New York the focus of another. The Oberlin group made a point of Scriptural orthodoxy; the Oneida group, led by John Humphrey Noyes, frankly held that divine guidance superseded Scripture and theology. "Our business," wrote Noyes, "is to be coworkers with God in ushering in the last period of man's education—the second Reformation—the victory and reign of spiritual wisdom and power."<sup>18</sup> Noyes achieved notoriety by joining with Perfectionism the idea of community living and the doctrines of eugenics and free love. These innovations implied the power of ordinary men and women to become free of sin and to conduct themselves as colleagues of God Himself in the business of everyday living.

Perfectionism by no means marked the limit of inventiveness on the part of religious leaders in this age of "come-outism." In 1831 William Miller, a simple farmer, began to preach in the churches in his vicinity in Massachusetts, New York, and Vermont the doctrine of the immediate second coming of Christ. By ingenious interpretations of the time periods mentioned in Daniel and Revelation, Miller concluded that in or about the year 1843 the Lord Jesus Christ would return to earth in visible form, gather His faithful, raise the dead, reward the saints, and establish the literal Kingdom of God under the whole heavens. Through preaching and published tracts, Miller and his disciple, the Reverend Joshua V. Himes, gripped the imagination of great numbers in the city and the country. In spite of, perhaps because of, the opposition of evangelicals, Calvinists, and Unitarians, the cult developed so rapidly that by 1843 it numbered 1,000,000 followers, many of whom assembled on housetops in special ascension robes on the day appointed for the second coming. In part the popularity of Millerism was the result of the hard times of the later 1830s. Life was so harsh for many that the gospel of the Second Coming was grasped in an effort to solve what seemed to be insoluble difficulties. But Millerism spread not only because it promised the troubled and hard-pressed common man an immediate Utopia, but

<sup>18</sup> *The Perfectionist*, III (February 15, 1843), 1.



of social responsibility for all members of the group. The conviction, spread by proselyters among the masses of the Old World as well as in the East, that Mormonism promised a social Utopia accounted for much of its success in recruiting disciples.

The multiplication of sects did not proceed without efforts for church unity in the interest of popular understanding of confusing religious dogmas. When Alexander and Thomas Campbell, Scotsmen and Presbyterians, found themselves the leaders of a new sect, the Disciples of Christ, they did what they could to promote unity between their followers and another group called Christians. The Christians had stemmed from the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians under the leadership of James O'Kelley, Abner Jones, and Barton Stone. The name "Christian" reflected the effort to bring an end to denominationalism; the plea to return to the Scriptures reflected a hope that all subsequent denominational quarrels might be prevented. This position was in part a reaction against excessively bitter sectarianism. But its support among ordinary people was also an expression of their conviction that untutored minds could grasp the essentials of Christian faith. To that degree at least, the Campbellite and Christian movements were democratic protests on the part of people weary with denominational wrangling over the fine issues of abstruse theology.

The essentially democratic developments in the religious expression of the period did not sweep away all traces of undemocratic thought within the Christian fold. The churches only hesitantly faced some of the great issues involving the democratic principle. Clergymen frequently blessed that which was least democratic in the rising industrial capitalism; the doctrine that poverty and the ills of this world are inconsequential, for instance, found eloquent exponents in the pulpit. This doctrine was acceptable to many among the poor because it helped them endure their lot. By reason of their divided constituencies many religious leaders hesitated to take a definite stand on slavery. In 1844, however, the majority of the Methodists, one of the most democratic sects, condemned it; the result was a cleavage within the church along sectional lines. Similar cleavages followed in other denominations. Still other denominations succeeded in evading the issue, and the southern churches blessed slavery. Yet in spite of these limitations to the democratic impulse in religion, impressive gains in the democratization of the churches could not be denied.

duction of analytical and descriptive geometry, and Hassler established the work of the geological survey on firm foundations. In 1845-1846 a scientifically designed suspension bridge—it spanned the Monongahela River—introduced to the American public the name of John A. Roebling; but he was only one among many immigrant engineers in whom American railways, bridges, and urban waterworks systems found master designers. Other immigrants virtually established the manufacture of scientific instruments. Medicine profited from the arrival of excellently trained men, who frequently established the first specialized practices in hitherto slightly known fields. Homeopathy and pharmacy—each important in view of the crude and excessive use of drugs in those days—were launched on their American careers by Germans. One immigrant, Louis Agassiz, a Swiss by birth, opened a new chapter in the history of American geology and biology.

Newcomers also enriched the humanistic disciplines. Charles Follen introduced the study of German at Harvard. Francis Lieber, in editing his *Encyclopaedia Americana*, persuaded specialists to share their knowledge with a wider public and popularized the German idea of bibliographical references and documentation. From his chair at South Carolina College Lieber also produced the first works in political science by an American private scholar. Along with Beck and other Germans, he helped popularize the idea of physical education as a requisite basis for the well-rounded cultivation of the mind.

In certain areas of thought immigrants definitely reinforced or broadened the concept of liberalism and democracy. When they reached American shores many of them felt as did Hans Barlien, a disciple of Voltaire and a leader of the small farmers in Norway in their long struggle with the aristocrats, when he wrote, "Now for the first time am I able to breathe freely." The introduction of Fourierism into the United States owed much to American proponents, but the presence of many immigrants imbued with these ideas was also a telling factor in the social experimentation of the Jacksonian era. Victor Considérant founded a Fourieristic phalanx in Texas, and the Icarian settlements of French immigrants also aroused interest. Other Utopian experiments flourished for a time at Dr. Wilhelm Keil's Bethel community in Missouri and at the settlement of Bishop Hill in Illinois founded by the Swede, Eric Janson. German immigrants later founded in Iowa the renowned cooperative community, Amana. Carl Heinzen, a disciple of

tivism was regarded as antithetical to the traditional idea that America was an asylum for the oppressed of all the world. The essence of Americanism, in the minds of men like Emerson and Whitman, was the opportunity that the United States provided to one and all alike, whatever their background. Robert Dale Owen contended that Nativism was itself un-American by reason of the basic suspicion of democracy which it implied.

The presence of a mass of immigrants indirectly promoted the democratic ideal of free public schools. Owing largely to the increase of the foreign-born in the population, illiteracy among the whites jumped from 3.77 percent in 1830 to 5.03 percent in 1850. Concerned lest this illiteracy of the foreign-born, together with their unfamiliarity with American institutions, might jeopardize the national experiment, educational reformers appealed for larger support for public schools in order that the immigrant might be Americanized. His presence was a weighty factor in the growing conviction that public schools were indispensable to the well-being of the Republic. This conviction was confirmed in 1841 when Archbishop Hughes, the Catholic bishop of New York, seemed about to win a victory in a heated campaign for state support of parochial schools.

Democratic theory and practice, then, were greatly affected by and in turn affected immigrants, new religious sects, the revolutionary impulse in the Old World, and the rise of an industrial culture. But this was not all. Equalitarian thought and practice interpenetrated many other areas of American life. Science and technology, the popularization of knowledge, social relationships, and patriotic sentiment—all these were related to the new currents of equalitarianism.

the people in the ordinary walks of life, and it was also one of the causes of this awakening.

### The Continued Stimulus of Patriotism, Religion, and Utilitarianism

The advance of democracy as a factor in scientific thought and activity did not exclude the continued operation of traditional forces. The early patriotic zeal for initiative and achievement sufficient to free America from the charge of thralldom to Europe still motivated friends of science and scientists themselves. In the minds of such men as John Quincy Adams patriotic pride in the contributions America might make to learning was enough to justify any modest outlay of funds from the public treasury. Especially dear to the heart of the learned President from maritime New England was a government observatory. He pleaded for it in his first annual message in 1825: "While scarcely a year passes over our heads without bringing some new astronomical discovery to light, which we must fain receive at second hand from Europe, are we not cutting ourselves off from the means of returning light for light while we have neither observatory nor observer upon our half of the globe and the earth revolves in perpetual darkness to our unsearching eyes?"<sup>1</sup> Patriotic intellectuals felt humiliated seven years later when the English astronomer Airy, in writing on the state of astronomy in the world, reported he could say nothing of American astronomy inasmuch as there were no public observatories in that country. That situation was remedied, to the great satisfaction of patriotic intellectuals, when observatories were established in the 1840s at Harvard and in Cincinnati and Washington.

In 1847 Benjamin Silliman of Yale, who had founded the *American Journal of Science* in 1818 to advance science to "the elevation of our national character," proudly reported that science had progressed by leaps and bounds in the United States. Its devotees, he pointed out no less proudly, had even awakened European interest in American research by the treasure of facts they had provided.

Yet the debt of American science to Europe gave no sign of ending. It was no longer indispensable for every young aspirant to go abroad.

<sup>1</sup> James D. Richardson (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902* (Government Printing Office, 1896-1897), II, 314.

two scientific visits. In Berlin Humboldt followed with appetite the researches of American scientists, taking pride in the great advances in knowledge made in the Republic that he had visited at the beginning of the century. Darwin himself eagerly sought data from the New World. Thus American science continued to be closely related to that of England, Germany, and France.

Still other inherited patterns guided American scientists in the Jacksonian era. The traditional conflict between naturalism and supernaturalism had not been resolved. For instance, Dr. Thomas Cooper of South Carolina in 1833 published a pamphlet, *On the Connection between Geology and the Pentateuch*, in which he deplored the efforts to square irreconcilables. More important than the survivals of the earlier assumption that science contradicted Revelation were the continued and ever more prominent efforts on the part of religious-minded scientists to reconcile naturalism and supernaturalism.

Virtually all the leading scientists in the 1830s and 1840s accepted in one or another form the basic doctrine of Christian theology and explicitly tried to show that no contradiction existed between science and religion. In his college edition of Bakewell's *Geology* Silliman tried to make the facts of that science accord with Genesis. Despite the fact that this effort aroused the wrath of Dr. Thomas Cooper, Silliman continued to maintain that all the findings of field study and the laboratory confirmed Scripture. His gifted pupil, James Dwight Dana, was of one mind on this point with his master. So, too, was the Swiss-American, Arnold Guyot, who, like Dana, tried to see in the Bible's misty, poetical account of creation a more or less exact statement of natural phenomena. In the same spirit Lieutenant Maury, the Virginian who won world fame for creating oceanography, clung to the literal interpretation of the Bible. "If the two cannot be reconciled," he declared in speaking of science and Revelation, "the fault is ours, and it is ours because, in our blindness and weakness, we have not been able to interpret aright either the one or the other."<sup>2</sup>

Some scientists, however, did not insist on the literal truth of the Scriptural account of creation and the deluge. The Reverend Edward Hitchcock, director of the geographical survey of Massachusetts and president of Amherst College, making no efforts at literal reconciliation,

<sup>2</sup> Diana Fontaine Maury Corbin, *A Life of Matthew Fontaine Maury* (London, 1888), 106.

commerce. The formidable and important task of exploring and evaluating the vast reaches of land beyond the Mississippi was one of the most important factors in making the federal government a powerful and often effective patron of science.

Maritime commerce also set concrete problems for scientists. Dr. Joseph Henry, whose work in electromagnetism was of prime significance, spent much time in the laboratories of the College of New Jersey and the Smithsonian Institution experimenting with acoustics in order to perfect a foghorn for mariners. Commercial interests obviously stood to benefit from the work of the Coast Survey, which added materially to topographical and geological knowledge. Maritime America also supported far-reaching plans for charting leading sea lanes under government auspices in the interest of greater speed and safety. While it would be too much to say that the monumental achievements of Lieutenant Maury in this field were the direct result of the behests of merchantmen and whalers, these shrewd and adventuresome Americans were quick to see the bearing of his work.

In the discussions arising in the late 1820s and 1830s over the projected naval exploring expedition, the patriotic argument that such a project would bring America the prestige European governments had won by similar ventures was coupled with a utilitarian justification. The expedition, it was argued, would chart better ocean highways by discovering shoals and reefs and dangerous currents; it would detect superior whaling waters; and it would insure respect for American merchantmen when they touched savage-inhabited islands in the southern seas. "Should it be said," asked one enthusiast in Congress, "that we, who are the second if not the first commercial nation in the world, must continue to navigate the ocean with the defective charts furnished us by foreigners?" Before Congress finally committed itself to the project, considerable pressure had been exerted not only by the indefatigably patriotic and sea-minded Ohio lawyer, John N. Reynolds, but also by the East India Marine Society and the legislatures of eight interested states.

The rising mines and factories also stimulated scientists to pursue problems closely related to industrial needs. In his *Report to the Corporation of Brown University* (1850) President Francis Wayland declared that, in view of the imperative industrial demands of the country, colleges must respond by equipping young men for useful careers in foundries, shops, and mills. Instructors in chemistry at Brown inaugur-

made this possible. This is by no means to say that interest in science as an avocation on the part of physicians, merchants, planters, and ministers disappeared. On the contrary, scientific interest became more widely diffused than ever before. But the leadership was now provided not by busy statesmen like Jefferson or versatile physicians like Dr. Mitchill or planters, merchants, or parsons, but by college professors and the civil, naval, and military servants of the government. In addition, the rapid growth of popular interest in science made lecturing and the writing of textbooks such profitable supplementary sources of revenue for scientists.

One mark of professionalism was the specialization that tended to replace the former concern with the whole field of science. The breaking down of science into its particular fields was necessitated by the vast developments in science that had taken and were taking place. But such specialization was made possible only by virtue of the fact that American society was now becoming more complex, more populous, and more wealthy. Equally important was the growing awareness on the part of farmers, merchants, and industrialists that science promised to provide solutions for problems and instruments for further efficiency and expansion.

Thus the United States Exploring Expedition, as it set out on its voyage to the antipodes in 1838, carried with it not only all-round scientists devoted to many fields, but also a mineralogist, a conchologist, a horticulturist, a botanist, and a philologist, in addition to two distinguished naturalists and two navy officers competent in hydrography, geography, astronomy, meteorology, and physics. When Benjamin Silliman retired from the faculty of Yale in 1853, no one dreamed of replacing him by a scientist competent to teach geology as well as chemistry and the other branches for which he had been responsible when he began his work in 1806. The classical curriculum might continue to dominate the colleges, but the particularized sciences made many inroads. Moreover, new institutions such as Rensselaer, the Franklin Institute, and the Lawrence and Sheffield foundations at Harvard and Yale devoted themselves solely to research and training in the scientific fields.

The degree of specialization can be further appreciated by a study of scientific publications. The *American Journal of Science* did, it is true, devote itself to the field of general science. But periodicals for the

more purposeful and fruitful. Asa Gray and Benjamin Peirce used their rising reputations and their energies to promote closer cooperation among scientists, and between science and the federal government.

But the tendency toward organization was broader and more significant than any one leader could account for or provide. The traditionally American way of effecting through mutual and voluntary association larger purposes than individuals alone could achieve found expression in 1848 in the organization of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The stimulus was given by the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists, but the statement of purposes and rules indicated that the new group was patterned after the British Association established in 1831. Meeting annually or even semiannually in widely scattered cities, the American Association, through its subsections devoted to the discussion of papers in particular fields and through its publications, not only brought scientists together but stimulated investigation and cooperation. By 1854 the original 471 members had increased to over a thousand, including two women. One of these, Maria Mitchell, was known throughout the western civilized world by reason of her independent discovery of a comet.

### Government Participation

During the years between the election of Jackson and the Civil War, the state and federal governments became perhaps the most important agencies for the promotion of science. Stimulated by the hope of discovering unknown minerals, state after state embarked on geological surveys. The North Carolina survey (1824-1828) was a pioneer undertaking. The Massachusetts survey, begun in 1830 under the direction of Edward Hitchcock of Amherst, published its findings in 1833. Before the opening of the Civil War almost every state had carried out one or more such surveys. That of New York was of particular significance because it included the stratigraphic record for which the great paleontologist, James Hall, was responsible. Beginning about 1840, many states also surveyed their flora and especially their fauna; the natural history surveys of Massachusetts and New York were outstanding examples of cooperative investigation. All these state surveys involved systematic investigation which no isolated individual could perform.

Gradually, and against opposition, the federal government itself took



seventeen years between 1843 and 1860 Bache was permitted to spend \$4 million on the Coast Survey and related activities. To parallel the work of this survey Congress in 1841 provided for an up-to-date survey of the Great Lakes.

These admirable beginnings in the field of marine geography were greatly forwarded by Lieutenant Matthew Fontaine Maury, the Virginia naval officer to whom reference has already been made. Before Maury became director of the National Observatory and Hydrographical Department he was known chiefly as the author of *A New Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Navigation* (1836), for many years a standard treatise. In his new office he studied the old logs of vessels to determine relationships between winds, currents, and temperature in various seasons, in the hope that existing charts of routes on the high seas might be tested and ultimately replaced by superior ones. Maury obtained permission to present blank forms or abstract logs to every master of an American vessel, to be filled in during the course of a given voyage. As one of his admirers put it, the sea was asked "to grant a continuous interview and thus to have its autobiography written." From the data thus obtained he established definite relationships between winds, tides, waves, currents, and storms. In fact, when he published *The Physical Geography of the Sea* (1855), he was hailed by no less an authority than Humboldt as the creator and master of a new science, oceanography. The maritime world proclaimed its gratitude to the man whose charts enabled mariners to cut down lengthy voyages by many days, to avoid hitherto unknown drifts and unforeseen storms, and to insure the safer delivery of goods at lower insurance rates. The obvious advantages to commerce led in 1853 to an international conference at Brussels which Maury dominated and which recommended to the maritime nations cooperation with the American's project.

Closely related to Maury's work and that of the coast and geodetic survey were the investigations which centered in the Naval Observatory at Washington. Long desired by Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, and other leaders, this observatory grew out of the astronomical work of the depot of charts and instruments. With the dispatch of the United States Exploring Expedition in 1838, daily observations and calculations were made in order that the expedition's longitudinal observations might subsequently be evaluated. This work, accomplished with a high degree of accuracy by Lieutenant James M. Gilliss, was published in the official

headward, Dana confirmed the Huttonian theory of the importance of the drowned mouths of river-made valleys. His reports on Crustacea described hundreds of new species and included the first comprehensive studies of coral-forming zoophytes.

In addition to enriching knowledge and making possible the comparative study of science in America, the expedition, through the specimens it brought back, provided the nuclei for the United States National Museum and the United States Botanical Garden.

Although none of the explorations that followed that of Wilkes approached it in scientific importance, the federal government continued to add to the world's knowledge of remote places in a series of expeditions undertaken primarily for commercial purposes. Most of these resulted in the publication of official reports with new data on geography, hydrography, terrestrial magnetism, and other sciences allied to navigation. In South America Lieutenant Thomas Jefferson Page investigated La Plata River and its tributaries, and Lieutenant Isaac Strain explored the Isthmus of Darien. More rewarding was the remarkable expedition of Lieutenant William Herndon, who in 1851 crossed the Andes from the Pacific to the headwaters of the Amazon, which he then followed to its mouth. Even the Dead Sea was surveyed in an expedition led by Lieutenant William Lynch.

In the zest for explorations the arctic was not neglected. Important scientific discoveries resulted from the search which Lieutenant Edwin J. De Haven made in 1850 for the lost English explorer, Sir John Franklin; a similar expedition headed by Dr. Elisha Kane extended knowledge of the Greenland seas. The expeditions of Commander Cadwallader Ringgold and Commander John Rodgers in the early 1850s explored and surveyed the Bering Strait, the North Pacific, and the China Seas. Thanks to the zoological labors of William Stimpson, much new information concerning the marine life of the coasts of Alaska and Japan was gathered. Finally, the three impressive volumes which resulted from Commodore Perry's famous visit to Japan enlightened the world regarding that remote kingdom.

In one additional area the federal government assumed responsibility for the advancement of science. On the seventeenth of December, 1835, President Jackson informed Congress of the bequest of \$500,000 to the federal government by one James Smithson, a scion of the English aristocracy and a scientist of some note. John C. Calhoun advocated the

creasingly close collaboration between scientists and mechanics and the quickened tempo of the application of scientific principles to the practical arts still further differentiated scientific activities in the Jacksonian era. The day of the machine was dawning and predictions were forthcoming regarding the lights and shadows of that day.

One of the earliest scientists of repute to use the term technology and to defend what it represented was Dr. Jacob Bigelow of Harvard. In his *Elements of Technology*, published in the year that Jackson entered the White House, Bigelow maintained that the application of science to the arts constituted the chief superiority of modern civilization over that of the ancients. It had transformed not only the physical but the moral and political condition of society. Technology had enabled modern man to "ascend above the clouds and penetrate into the abysses of the ocean"—things the ancients had dreamed of in their fables. It had created the printing press and thus dispersed the darkness of the Middle Ages. It had also revolutionized the art of war by giving the mind great advantages over brute force. Above all, technology had effected profound changes in ways of living in amazingly short periods of time.

The relationships, or assumed relationships, between technology and democracy provided champions of the machine with justifications and arguments in their tussles with classicists, traditionalists, and realistic critics of technology. In the Jacksonian era science and thought about science were profoundly influenced by the idea that investigations in the laboratory and the field might, within the framework of private enterprise and profit, promote the comfort and well-being of the common man. Those who profited by machine industry promoted it, of course, even where benefits to the plain people were not strikingly in evidence. And one could not expect the lords of industry to work for scientific advances that might interfere with their profits. But they as well as ordinary people saw that science and invention could greatly enrich the lives of the masses. This was no new concept, to be sure. At least since the time of Francis Bacon it had found advocates, and, as we have seen, exponents of the Enlightenment cherished it with special tenderness. But many signs indicated that in the 1830s and 1840s this idea enjoyed increasing prestige and found exemplification in practice on a scale more impressive than ever before.

One sign of this was the frequency of references in orations and

the abolitionist Horace Greeley were attacked by proslavery members of Congress, seem to have been responsible for his retirement from office. But they were widely read and, together with *The World a Workshop*, they systematized his philosophy of invention.

The machine, Ewbank thought, might enable man, for the first time in his long history, to be master of his fortunes. Already, he insisted in his *Report* for 1852, it had given the entire body of mankind something like equal opportunities in the race for happiness and power. By reducing the cost of the comforts of life and the tools of knowledge, by freeing the common man from the necessity of toiling from dawn to dark, and by increasing the wages of intelligent and skilled labor, the machine had done much to enable him to share advantages previously monopolized by the privileged.

Ewbank did not rest his case for technology merely on the advantages which he felt it had brought the common man, and was to bring him in increasing measure. In his *Annual Report* (1849) as Commissioner of Patents he implored society to weigh more adequately the claims of the inventor:

It is a singular vagary that men to whose genius and industry the world is indebted for what is most valuable in it, should have always been held in low esteem. A habit of moderns, it was a passion in former times, to look askance at those who use the hammer or spade, under the fond delusion that the less wise men have to do with gross matter the nearer they resemble the Great Spirit; whereas God is the greatest of workers—the chief of artificers. So far from locking up his wisdom in abstractions, he is incessantly embodying it in tangible things, and in them it is that his intelligence, ingenuity and resources are made manifest. What is this world but one of workshops, and the universe but a collection of inventions?

In this identification of the Deity with the mechanic, in this rubbing out of the ancient line separating the worker from the thinker, the doer from the contemplator, Ewbank elevated technology to new heights and provided a philosophical basis for a democracy in which all should work with their hands as well as think with their minds.

Ewbank maintained that invention could not function freely and beneficently in a world in which a ruling class or an interest group smothered inventive genius and throttled inventions. But he was certain that the engineers and mechanics held the future in their hands.

man. If he were thrown out of work when new machines were installed, he also found new work as a result of machines. If he tasted the bitter dregs of insecurity and degradation in the mill towns and city slums created by the machine, he also enjoyed opportunities and comforts his fathers had not even entertained in their dreams. Reference has already been made to some of the new inventions. Now Charles Goodyear, after many vicissitudes, at length succeeded in discovering the process for making India rubber commercially useful; as a result, the common man could henceforth enjoy an almost endless series of comfort-promoting devices. Samuel Colt's improved repeating revolver proved a boon to the plain man in his struggles on the frontier. No less important than the inventions themselves was the further development of the principle of interchangeable parts, which Eli Whitney and Samuel Colt had first used on a large scale.

Commendable though the record was in technological invention and in the filling in of details in the various scientific fields, Americans could hardly boast the discovery of important general laws of mechanics and science. Only two European-Americans approached the great generalizers and theoreticians of the Old World: Agassiz in geology and Adrian in mathematics. It is true that Joseph Henry's name was often coupled with that of Faraday for having independently discovered the principle of self-induction, but Henry laid down no far-reaching theory or principle. James Dwight Dana did important work in geology, and Asa Gray was highly regarded abroad for his contributions to botany; but neither was of the same stature as Lyell and Darwin.

The Americans' fertility in technology and their sterility in abstract theoretical laws during this period occasioned some comment. Their inventiveness was attributed to the Yankee's moral flair for improving not only his mind and character but the tools he used; to the fact that a continent was to be civilized by inadequate manpower, with the result that a premium was put on the invention of time-saving devices; and to the probability that the creative impulse which in some societies expressed itself in the fine arts found outlet in America rather in mechanical invention. Perhaps the theory advanced by Tocqueville was as satisfactory as any. He suggested that in Europe, where a "permanent inequality" of condition prevailed, men confined themselves to "the arrogant and sterile researches of abstract truths, whilst the social condi-

fied to the fact that laissez faire in public health, however democratic it might appear, militated against the common good. In 1851 Dr. Wilson Jewell of the Philadelphia Board of Health planned a national public health association; six years later he led in its establishment. Formed in 1847 in the interest of professional progress, the American Medical Association recommended sanitary reforms and the collection of vital statistics in the interest of good health. Massachusetts in 1843 had set the example of recording vital statistics and despite the influence of laissez faire, popular individualism, and ignorance, the practice grew.

The plain man was in more than one respect a beneficiary of the advance of medical science. No doubt he or his wife pored over the fugitive copies of Dr. Charles Knowlton's *Fruits of Philosophy* (1832), the first American treatise on birth control, which went through many editions in spite of the strong religious and moral opposition it aroused. In 1843, several years prior to the epoch-making discovery in Vienna that childbed fever was the result of infection through lack of complete cleanliness at childbirth, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes advanced the same theory, but medical opposition delayed the time of its general acceptance.

On the other hand, the discovery of anesthesia, which revolutionized surgery and brought "the death of pain," was quickly adopted. Dr. Crawford Long of Georgia, as a result of his observation that ether deadened pain, performed eight operations with its aid between 1842 and 1846, but his failure to publish his results deprived him of the title of discoverer. Unaware of these events in Georgia, Dr. William Morton, a Boston dentist, acting on the suggestion of the well-known physician, Dr. Charles Jackson, that sulphuric ether deadened pain, successfully demonstrated its effectiveness as an anesthetic in extractions. In 1846 Dr. John C. Warren was persuaded to use it in a major surgical operation at the Massachusetts General Hospital. After the operation had been quietly performed in the presence of skeptical but tense onlookers, Dr. Warren said to them, "Gentlemen, this is no humbug."

### Growing Interest in Mental Phenomena

Although modern psychology was then in the womb of the future, this era saw some effort to introduce inductive methods into the study of mental life. It is true that credulousness, superstition, and faith in super-

never be an object of philosophical investigation." For mind, to the phrenologist, was not independent of matter. "The operations of the mind are the mind itself." These operations were said to be rooted in the complex and multiple organs making up the brain and the nervous system, the seat of Philoprogenitiveness, Amativeness, Ideality, Eventuality, and all the other faculties or propensities of behavior. The locale of the organs in which the propensities were centered had, according to phrenology, been determined by Gall's and Spurzheim's dissection of brains; and since these various organs of the brain affected the size and contour of the skull (as it was supposed) it was possible, with the aid of the famous phrenological "charts" and "heads," to make character analyses.

The vogue for phrenological "readings" among the common people can be in part explained by the prevailing social atmosphere. In a period when the common man began to feel within him the stir of power and ambition, phrenology had much to offer him. It was not merely that he could have, from a wandering "practicing phrenologist" or at the "parlors" of Fowler and Wells on Broadway, a reading which would set him right regarding the kind of mate that he, with his propensities, should choose; nor was it even that he might be told the vocation or business for which he was best adapted. These things, of course, were important. But as one of the critics of phrenology remarked, the common man seeks for something which will solve all his difficulties, something which will reveal nature's secrets and savor of a mystery or miracle. What the more esoteric mental philosophies were supposed to do for the college-bred man, phrenology claimed to do for any man.

Nor was that all. As James Freeman Clarke, a prominent and liberal Unitarian clergyman remarked, phrenology inspired hope and courage in those depressed by the consciousness of some inability. For, at least as interpreted by Combe and his disciples, it taught that man was in a state of transition between bondage to the animal propensities and governance by the moral ones. Phrenology could tell one in which of the desirable propensities he was weak, in which of the undesirable he was overendowed; and by the deliberate cultivation of the one and the inhibition of the other he might in fact alter his endowments. That, in brief, was the meaning of the motto of the eminently successful phrenologist, Orson Squire Fowler, "Self-made, or never made." Obviously phrenology's implications for social reform through mass education were enormous.

# The Popularization of Knowledge

*Let us diffuse knowledge throughout the length and breadth of this great country; multiply the means of information,—send the schoolmaster into every hovel,—dot every hill with the school-house and college,—let the press, without intermission, night and day, pour forth its steady streams of light,—foster science and the Arts,—let the civilizing and Godlike influences of machinery uninterruptedly extend. Then will the future of our country open, boundless and great, beyond all example, beyond all compare, and countless ages bless its mission and acknowledge its glorious dominion.*

—DE BOW'S REVIEW, 1854

The decades between Jackson and Lincoln witnessed an extraordinary development in the spread of ideas and knowledge among the people. This was largely accomplished through the improvement of existing cultural institutions and the rise of new agencies. The three decades preceding the Civil War saw the appearance of the penny newspaper and the inexpensive magazine and book, the lyceum platform, and the public library. It was the age of the common school awakening, the development of the academy, the emergence of the high school, and the multiplication of colleges.

The flourishing growth of these agencies for the diffusion of knowledge



Coleridge, Lamb, Ruskin, Dickens, Thackeray, Poe, Nathaniel P. Willis, Longfellow, Whittier, Emerson, Holmes, and a long list of others. Tokens of affection, of refinement, even of luxury, "these luscious gifts," in the words of one of their publishers, "stole alike into the palace and the cottage, the library, the parlor, and the boudoir" to create an ever-widening taste for purchasable culture, ornate, exquisite, sentimental, and uplifting.

For those who could not afford the expensive gift books, enterprising publishers found cheaper but no less profitable disseminators of knowledge and culture. The multiplication of lyceums, debating societies, and district school libraries created a wide market for new books. No sooner had the New York legislature enacted a law encouraging the establishment of district school libraries than an agent of Harper's obtained at Albany a contract to supply books for the new venture. Harper's District School Library was by no means the only uniformly bound and cheaply priced series which this enterprising firm sponsored. Harper's Boys' and Girls' Library, Harper's Family Library, which ran up to 187 volumes, and Harper's Library of Select Novels, reaching at length the six hundred and fifteenth title, all bore witness to the way in which an alert and profit-conscious publisher might take advantage of, and contribute to, the zeal for popularizing knowledge and culture.

What Harper's did others were quick to imitate. Publishers catered to the more serious intellectual aspirations of a public untrained in the foreign languages by bringing out an impressive range of translations of the writings of European philosophers, publicists, and men of letters. On a more popular level cheaply priced books of useful information, travel, history, biography, and religion appeared. Encyclopedias and popular "books of knowledge," ponderous or of pocket size, enjoyed an ever-growing vogue.

Pious folk distrusted the novel, but it had no real rival. Anxious to put perspective "best sellers" on the market as speedily as possible, publishers sometimes dispatched messengers to incoming European packetboats and within a single day set up, printed, and bound in paper covers the most recent novel of Bulwer or Dickens. Newspaper boys sold for a half-quarter or a dime these "pirated" novels, the cheap cost of which was due to the fact that no international copyright existed. Thanks to new promotion methods, these inexpensive books quickly became available to travelers on canals and railroads and to dwellers in remote byways. Even

anyone had deemed possible. Frankly bent on tapping as wide a market as possible, Bennett offered, instead of the old type of serious, dull paper tied to a political faction, an organ which capitalized sensational news, vivacious gossip and prattle, and dramatic human interest stories. On a higher political and moral level and yet partaking of many of the features of the new journalism was Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. Its advocacy of reforms promising to elevate the common man to vast heights appealed to the self-interest and idealism of the plain people who subscribed to it in mounting numbers.

The agricultural press also developed rapidly in this period. The dirt farmer often complained that the contents of the agricultural journal were useless. Yet, in addition to hortatory and inspirational articles on the evils of the city and the glories of agriculture and on the need for temperance and schooling, it contained many pieces of an informational character. These included articles on soil, on state and federal aid to agriculture, on travel, politics, laws, and catastrophic events and accidents. The farm paper also contained household hints, rural poetry, and suggestions for the improvement of farm architecture.

All these ventures in the popularization of information, related as they were to an expanding business enterprise, both exemplified the widespread enthusiasm for the diffusion of knowledge and contributed to it.

At least one other development in the social and economic life of the period—improvement in communication and reduction of the cost of postage—was indirectly related to the rise of the common man. The law of 1825 lowered the postal charges that in the interest of additional revenues had been fixed at the close of the War of 1812. But even with these reductions the rates remained burdensome to the ordinary man who in his migration to the West and to cities found it costly to communicate with his homefolk. Following the example of Rowland Hill in England, American reformers inaugurated a campaign to induce Congress, in face of the general opposition of the postal authorities, to eliminate the complex and burdensome practice by which the initial high cost of letters increased with the distance. The preservation of family affections, so the petitions ran, required cheaper postage; so too did the spread of the light reflected by the various crusades for moral reform. Business enterprises, especially the publishers of newspapers and magazines, added their voices to the hue and cry for cheaper rates. At length, in 1851, Congress responded by virtually adopting the principle of cheap

In justification of the new movement Brougham urged in his *Practical Observations*—much read and admired in the United States—that the diffusion of knowledge promised to prevent a crisis in class relationships. Such a crisis, he warned, must result if ignorance regarding the “true causes” of the steady decrease in wages and prosperity blinded the masses. The education of adults in mechanical skills might well further result in new discoveries of inestimable benefit for all concerned. In addition Brougham urged that the practical education of the masses would greatly reduce expenditures for charity; a well-trained populace would be less prone to idleness and crime, improvident marriages, and an unseemly increase in the number of paupers. Finally, so the argument ran, the diffusion of knowledge would undermine skepticism, superstition, and intolerance.

Many American men of property generously responded to the movement for the popularization of knowledge through voluntary organizations of mechanics and apprentices. The fast-disintegrating apprenticeship system no longer provided adequate surveillance for young employees in the larger cities, and mercantile and mechanics’ libraries and institutes seemed all the more necessary if young men in countinghouses and other business establishments were to be kept off the streets and away from taverns of evenings and encouraged to acquire practical tools for more effective work, the road to business success and the formula for becoming self-made men.

Nor did the diffusion of knowledge among women fail to win support from entrepreneurs. The Lowell millowners encouraged female operatives, many of whom came from farms, to improve their minds in off hours by attending lyceum lectures. Working girls were encouraged to write skits for the factory magazines that brought pleasant publicity to the mills and kept minds off such matters as hours, wages, and strikes. In other social circles rising men in commerce and industry looked with favor on the movement for the better education of their daughters, both for the sake of the daughters themselves and for the social prestige incident thereto.

The part of businessmen in supporting institutions for the diffusion of knowledge and in founding new ones has already been mentioned. In addition to the philanthropies to which attention has been drawn, there are many other examples: the institutions for scientific training endowed by Rensselaer, Bussey, Sheffield, and Lawrence, the benefactions of

all our dearest interests are to be entrusted, this is the point around which the wisest heads, the warmest hearts, the most powerful energies should gather, for conservation, for planning, for unity of action, and for persevering enterprise."<sup>2</sup> When further argument was necessary educators endeavoring to win the support of commerce and industry declared that a workman imbued as a child in the common schools with thrift, honesty, and obedience could always be counted on to work "more steadily and cheerfully, and, therefore, more productively, than one who, when a child, was left to grovel in ignorance and idleness."<sup>3</sup>

### Scholars and the Diffusion of Knowledge

The division of merchants, industrialists, property owners, and people of substance generally on the issue of the diffusion of knowledge was also reflected in scholarly circles. Some scholars, like John Pickering, a wealthy Boston lawyer and eminent philologist, lamented the fact that so few of their countrymen read Newton's *Principia* and Kant's *Critique*. Pickering attributed this sad circumstance to the general diffusion of knowledge; this bane, he feared, equipped people with just enough knowledge to read children's books and to belittle profound learning as useless pedantry. Such sentiments were echoed by other scholars. The Reverend Caleb S. Henry, an Episcopal clergyman and academic philosopher, buttressed his pleas for a highly specialized learned class with telling disparagements of the cult of diffusion. A priesthood of creative scholars, he argued, might in part offset the superficial knowledge encompassed in such epitomes for the people as "Familiar Elements" of this, that, and the other; such a group of erudites might even counterbalance the predominantly gross material tendencies inherent in the rise to prominence of the degraded, the idle, and the ignorant.

But many scholars more or less identified with the mansion people took an opposite stand. George Ticknor, scholar of scholars and patrician of patricians, worked hard to establish a public library in Boston in order to put culture within the reach of those who were grasping for it. At the

<sup>2</sup> Catharine Beecher to Mary Lyon, Walnut Hills, Ohio, in Monroe Collection of Henry Barnard Papers (New York University).

<sup>3</sup> George B. Emerson and Alonzo Potter, *The School and Schoolmaster* (Boston, 1843), 113.

Years later another democratic scholar, the Reverend A. D. Mayo, declared in words reminiscent of those of Marsh that the whole experience of European society argued against the division of men into a learned fraternity and an ignorant populace. Intellectual culture in America, Mayo maintained, would be less given to pedantry if scholars isolated themselves less from society and broadened the circle of their mental operations into the whole field of actual life, if they sneered less at the superficiality of popular oratory, fugitive literature, and other evidences of the people's cultural strivings. Let them rather, he expostulated, as older brothers encourage the people to eschew an over-emphasis on the merely practical and to value abstract principles for themselves.

Nor did the fine arts fail to enlist champions of cultural democracy. On his return from Europe Samuel F. B. Morse parted company with the conservatism of his father, Jedidiah Morse, by leading a revolt in 1828 against the undemocratic American Academy of Fine Arts in New York. The patronage of wealthy laymen, Morse declared, degraded artists, undermined the integrity of art, and was a disgrace to the human spirit. Native artists, he went on, had to cease cringing before moneyed men who, at best, for reasons of prestige preferred to import the works of European painters rather than risk encouraging unknown American artists. The National Academy of Design, which Morse founded, both repudiated control by lay patrons and frankly undertook to enlist the support of the people by promoting an art congenial to the morality and republicanism so dear to them.

In much the same vein the flamboyantly democratic George Bancroft declared that "genius will not create, to flatter patrons or decorate salons. It yearns for larger influences; it feeds on wider sympathies; and its perfect display can never exist, except in an appeal to the general sentiment for the beautiful." Bancroft went on to say that Americans would do well to recall that Homer and Shakespeare wrote for the people, not for an aristocracy. In any case, concluded the patriotic historian, the chief thing to be kept in mind was that "the universality of the intellectual and moral powers, and the necessity of their development for the progress of the race, proclaim the great doctrine of the natural right of every human being to moral and intellectual culture."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> George Bancroft, "The Office of the People," *Literary and Historical Miscellanies* (New York, 1855), 419, 428.

and, though this error is passing away, it is far from being exploded."<sup>6</sup>

In and out of season Channing and his fellow Unitarians, and the Transcendentalists in an even more romantic and intense way, declared that the ground of man's culture lay not in his calling or station but in his nature. He was to be educated, as Channing put it, not because he is to make shoes, nails, or pins, but because he is a man. To achieve self-culture, man's destiny, it was first of all necessary to fasten onto the ideal with all deliberateness, to spare nothing to make the most and the best of the powers bestowed by God. Intercourse with superior minds through books and lectures, the curbing of the animal spirits, participation in the political duties of a free republic, and manual labor performed in such a way as to be a high impulse to the mind and to fellow men—all these, Channing said, were among the practicable ways to self-culture.

This gospel, spread wide and far through sermons, tracts, lectures, and schoolbooks, inspired imitators of Franklin to self-improvement. It was at the root of young Margaret Fuller's daily routine set down in her diary:

Rose at 5. Walked for an hour. Practiced the piano till 7. Breakfast. Read French till 8. Attended 2-3 lectures in Brown's phil. 9.30 went to Mr. Perkins school. Ck. till 12. Home—piano until 2. If the conversation were agreeable sometimes lounged ½ hour at desert—tho' rarely so lavish of time. 2 hours Italian. At 6 walked or drove—sang for half an hour—wrote in journal—retired.

And the appeal of self-culture led another young New Englander, Elihu Burritt, blacksmith, to learn over the forge the Latin and Greek he would have mastered had his poverty-stricken father been able to send him to school. He was further impelled, having acquired these languages, to study after working hours some thirty languages, both European and Asiatic, one after another.

No brief account can convey any adequate impression of the hold of the cult of self-improvement. In Boston twenty-six courses of lectures, not including those that numbered less than eight lectures, attracted over 13,000 people during the winter of 1837-1838. So great was the zeal to obtain admission to Silliman's lectures on chemistry at the newly established Lowell Institute that the crowd filling the streets adjacent to the hall crushed in the windows of the Old Corner Book Store, the place where the tickets were distributed.

If Boston was more given to lectures for self-improvement than many

<sup>6</sup> *The Works of William Ellery Channing*, 6 vols. (Boston, 1853), II, 368.

rance of the people which they had taken pains to perpetuate. "It advances the common interests of these crafts, to distribute knowledge *partially*, and circumscribe the benefits of what is called a 'liberal education' to a few favorites of fortune, who happen to be born of those who are rich; also, to make a gloss of Latin and Greek the popular model of literary accomplishments. . . . We want a COMMON and EQUAL education—also PUBLIC because it is of general concern. It belongs to the public interest. As rational beings, it is in the INTEREST OF ALL, that ALL should be equally well educated."<sup>8</sup> Such pronouncements might be multiplied until they became wearisome.

The common man not only spoke unequivocally for the popularization of knowledge but, like those nearer the top of the ladder, worked for it as well. This was especially true of the mechanic class in the cities. Timothy Claxton, an English immigrant who had become familiar with the stirrings of adult education for workers in his own land, stimulated much of the activity in the early days of mechanics' institutes in Boston. In addition to establishing the first Boston Mechanics' Institution in 1826, he launched the *Young Mechanic*, a periodical which did much to promote zeal for self-improvement among the members of his class. While employers fostered and sometimes assumed the initiative in founding mechanics' institutes, the mechanics themselves not infrequently took the first steps. They quite generally assumed responsibility for the maintenance of evening classes in natural and applied sciences, in public speaking, and in other practical branches, together with the reading room and library.

Among lecturers that the mechanics' institutes welcomed none was in greater demand than Elihu Burritt, whose glorification of the union of physical toil and mental exercise was so well exemplified in his own accomplishments. Nor was Burritt the only workingman who spoke in these institutes on various branches of knowledge and on the issues of the day. The zeal for knowledge among working people impressed Louis Agassiz, who with amazement saw 3000 laborers, assembled to form a library, listen in perfect quiet to a two-hour discourse on self-culture. The testimony of a woman book peddler that blacksmiths, coopers, and mechanics "almost universally take books" supports the impression of others.

In rural districts, it is true, farmers showed far less militant zeal for

<sup>8</sup> *The Radical: An Advocate of Equality . . . Addressed to the People of the United States* (Albany, 1835), 79.

ing the physical equipment of schoolhouses. Thanks to such men as Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Calvin Stowe, Caleb Mills, Calvin Wiley, and others, many of the best features of the well-established state schools of Prussia were grafted onto the American educational plant without marked protest on the part of cultural patriots.

These men and their colleagues, in creating public sentiment for better schools, actually brought organization, supervision, standards, teacher training, and the beginnings of a professional attitude into American public education. Nor was this all. The Massachusetts Act of 1842 set a new precedent in extending the traditional compulsory principle which required each town to maintain a school in which any child could obtain schooling. The requirement was now made that every child attend some school for a minimum number of months during each year and for a minimum number of years.

The 1830s and 1840s also saw the beginnings of the extension of the principle of public responsibility for education from the elementary to the secondary level. Massachusetts led the way in 1827 by requiring every large town to maintain a free high school, an example which other states followed. By 1850 an auspicious start had been made in this field, though it was no more than a beginning.

In rural districts the academy offered opportunities to the offspring of the common man. From 1820 to 1840 the academy spread rapidly over the land, until by 1850 one out of every eighty-eight persons was listed by the census as a pupil in one of the 6000 academies the country boasted. In addition to the classical course the academy offered to those unable to attend college an introduction to the modern languages and literatures, the natural sciences, logic, and mental philosophy. Aiming as he did to present material in such a way as to make it meaningful and useful, the academy instructor had a definite idea of preparing his pupils for a richer life. Even when it owed its existence to the initiative of an individual or a religious sect, the academy nevertheless deserved its name, the people's college. Its low-cost tuition and the custom of "boarding oneself" on a goodly stock of provisions from the farm meant that for the first time the sons and even the daughters of farmers and village tradesmen might receive an education that was more enriching than that offered by the district school. In some cases the state itself increasingly tended to subsidize the academies and, especially in New York, to exercise some supervision over them. This custom paved the way for the



many boys who could not have afforded to go to institutions remote from their homes. Thanks not only to the feeling that college opportunities should be extended but also to denominational rivalry, the number of colleges increased from 173 in 1840 to 239 in 1850.

Of even greater significance was the wedge opened to women when, in 1837, Oberlin admitted four girls to candidacy for the A.B. degree. This precedent, which was to be imitated at Antioch and elsewhere before many years, meant that the barriers to the higher education of the daughters of the common man had begun to break down. Thus notwithstanding the setback which the Dartmouth College decision gave to the principle of public control of colleges and the faltering progress made by the so-called state universities in the South and West, higher learning was somewhat shaken by democratic impulses.

### Libraries for the People

Much more striking was the progress made in extending to the lower ranks of the rising middle class opportunities for self-improvement through libraries. It will be recalled that the original proprietary library had been somewhat democratized by admitting nonshareholders on payment of an annual fee. In periods of hard times this arrangement often broke down. Now, thanks to the general popularity of the philosophy of the diffusion of knowledge and also to important changes in the traditional apprenticeship system, new institutions for mechanics were established. With the gradual transformation of craftsmanship into factory production and the expansion of mercantile business, it was no longer possible for employers to exercise the close supervision over apprentices than had been their wont. Nor was it possible, as a result of the virtual breakdown of the old apprenticeship system, for trade secrets to be handed on in the traditional manner. All these factors, together with the enthusiasm of such a liberal merchant as William Wood and such an alert mechanic as the English immigrant Timothy Claxton, accounted for the rise of mechanics' libraries and institutes. In 1820 Wood, whom Lord Brougham hailed as the originator of the mechanics' and apprentices' libraries, established the Apprentices' Library in Boston. At about the same time similar institutions appeared in Portland, New York, and Philadelphia, and before long almost every city boasted one.

What these agencies accomplished may be suggested by the fact that

to establish a town library. Two years later the Massachusetts legislature permitted Boston to use public funds for the support of the projected Boston Public Library, the first important institution to establish the pattern of the public library as we know it. But to New Hampshire went the honor of enacting the first state-wide law permitting towns to establish tax-supported libraries. Massachusetts and Maine followed her example. With such a beginning, the way was paved, when social, economic, and cultural conditions became ripe, for the widespread adoption of the principle of public responsibility for libraries. Had the period contributed nothing else in the library field, this would have been sufficient glory. But in fact the years between 1825 and 1850 saw the establishment of 550 libraries of all sorts—more than twice the number founded in the preceding quarter of a century.

### The Lyceum

What the mechanics' and merchants' libraries and institutes did for the urban lower middle classes, the lyceum accomplished for the population as a whole in towns and cities and, of particular importance, for the plain men and women in villages and farming communities. These mutual improvement associations assembled books, conducted forums on a wide variety of noncontroversial subjects, and supported the movement for improved common schools. Gradually they came to import well-known lecturers who found in the lyceum not only profitable revenue but an opportunity for popularizing knowledge and moral values. Although, in view of the important function it fulfilled, something like the lyceum would have emerged, the form it took and the rapidity with which it caught on owed much to Josiah Holbrook. Holbrook, a New England farmer, had acquired from Silliman at Yale an enthusiasm for natural science. He conceived the idea of popularizing this utilitarian branch through voluntary organizations formed in every town in accordance with the time-honored principle of mutual association for common benefit. But Holbrook, being a promoter and thinking of the larger aspect of things, proposed the formation not only of town but of county and state lyceums, with a national federation tying the innumerable units together.

Only by taking into account the fact that the time was ripe for such an idea can one explain the fire-like spread of Holbrook's proposal. The

broaden the minds of the people and to make them more ready to entertain new ideas. Thomas Wyse, M.P., exaggerated of course, when on his return to England he wrote that as a result of the establishment of lyceums "thousands of children of not more than 8 or 10 years old, know more geology, mineralogy, botany, statistical facts etc., of what concerns their daily and national interests and occupations, than was probably known 30 years ago by any five individuals in the United States."<sup>10</sup> Another visitor, P. A. Siljeström, who came from Sweden to study such intellectual institutions as the lyceum, warned the Old World that if it was to escape both despotism and revolution it must imitate the American example of diffusion of knowledge. He made the remark, amazing for a European of that day, that popular culture in America was so important that Europe would be outstripped even in the higher learning unless she caught up with the young giant across the Atlantic.

The gap between the knowledge of the people and that of the classes whose means and position enabled them to enjoy a share in the world's culture remained wide. Thanks to the democratization of knowledge in the 1830s and 1840s, however, it was less broad and less deep than in any other country. The common man might still disparage the specialized knowledge of the scholar and the culture of the well-to-do, and they in turn might still deplore the anti-intellectualism, the prejudices, the ignorance of the masses, or the superficiality of the knowledge that was diffused among them. But a new era had begun.

<sup>10</sup> *Publications of the Central Society of Education*, II (1839), 216.

"What is a man born for," asked Emerson, "but to be a Reformer, a Remaker of what man has made . . . imitating that great Nature which embosoms us all, and which sleeps no moment on an old past, but every hour repairs herself, yielding us every morning a new day, and with every pulsation a new life?"<sup>1</sup> In these words the popular lyceum lecturer from Concord expressed a central tenet in the reform philosophy which inspired men and women in their efforts to reform dress and diet in the interest of universal health, to uproot capital punishment and imprisonment for debt, slavery, intemperance, war, and prostitution, and to agitate for the full rights of women, the humane treatment of the insane and the criminal, and even for the overthrow of such venerable institutions as the family, private property, and the state itself. In another mood, to be sure, Emerson half-whimsically, half-seriously, laid at the door of the reformers many an idiosyncrasy; and in no mood did he ever, like the whole-hearted reformer, surrender his very self to any cause; he was too much an individualist for that, as his criticism of Brook Farm implied. "Spoons and skimmers," he remarked in connection with that idealistic effort to build a better society in microcosm, "you can lay indiscriminately together, but vases and statues require each a pedestal for itself."

Nevertheless, Emerson put his finger on the essential faith of the reformer when he assumed that institutions exist to be improved, that man can improve them along with himself, that the law of human society, like that of physical nature, is one of change. It was this faith that gave a sense of fellowship to reformers even when they vied with each other in celebrating the merits of the particular cause to which they had given the largest place in their hearts. It was this faith in reform as a law of nature that preserved some bond between the most doctrinaire reformers and those of milder temperaments and more pragmatic attitudes. The essential faith Emerson expressed remained even after reformers were bitterly separated on the basic issue of "immediatism" (faith in the possibility of realizing the desired objective in the near future) and "gradualism" (doubt concerning such optimism). Not even the condemnation of powerful and respectable voices or the general indifference of the plain people discouraged the zeal of the true reformer.

<sup>1</sup> "Man the Reformer," *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1892), I, 236.

today, but, contradictory as they were to the law of improvement, they would one day cease plaguing mankind. The battle for temperance legislation was a hard one, but without it the law of progress could not be fulfilled; it was necessary for man's foreordained moral, religious, material, and political advance. The power of slavery and its northern allies was indeed formidable, but even it must at length give way to the justice and brotherhood the law of progress decreed. Thus ran the arguments.

But progress in all these spheres was not merely something supinely to be waited for. "Nature . . .," wrote Albert Brisbane, one of the most thoroughgoing of reformers, "has implanted in man an instinct of social progress, which, it is true, will lead him through a series of transformations, to the attainment of his Destiny; but she has also reserved for his intelligence the noble prerogative of hastening this progress, and of anticipating results, which, if left to the gradual movement of society would require centuries to effect."<sup>2</sup>

The role of the doctrine of progress in reform movements may be illustrated by specific reference to the labor cause. Some friends of the working class, for whom Frances Wright spoke, held that progress might be realized through a just system of universal education and a fearless spirit of inquiry. Others believed that if government assumed control of machinery in the interest of the people, the machines would no longer throw the worker out of mills and shops penniless but would clear the way for increasing comfort and well-being. Still others, such as Orestes A. Brownson, Albert Brisbane, Parke Godwin, and George Ripley thought that the competitive principle in production had to be replaced by the cooperative before true progress could be achieved. Man had developed, Brisbane said, the industry, art, and science which had replaced savagery by civilization; he was now, through cooperation or association, to transform the earth which had flowered for some into a heaven for all.

Even such philosophical anarchists as Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews predicated their Utopias on a law of progress which had gradually borne the sovereign individual on his way from complete subordination to the tyranny of the group to that ultimate realization of perfection—untrammelled freedom. Such an interpretation of progress, however, was even at the time contradicted by cold facts: the emergence

<sup>2</sup> Albert Brisbane, *The Social Destiny of Man* (Philadelphia, 1840), 331-332

had, in some contexts, strong patriotic overtones. It was, in short, an idea that could and did have wide circulation. Probably very few believed that a thorough regeneration of man was taking place in America. But many shared the belief that things would at least improve for man more rapidly in the New World than in the Old.

Such doctrines often inspired or reinforced generous efforts to redeem womankind from a thralldom to law and custom that stifled her human qualities, her individuality; to fetter the Demon Rum; to relax the hardened grip of the keeper of the insane and the criminal; to dispense altogether with the hangman; and to throttle once and for all the tyranny of the slave dealer and overseer. For however brutalized and degraded, every human being, according to the Romanticists, possessed a spark of the divine. No matter how dimmed this might be, it could never be entirely extinguished. Human love might fan it into a bright flame. In Emerson's words, "an acceptance of the sentiment of love throughout Christendom for a season would bring the felon and outcast to our side in tears." And Whitman's preachment of the solidarity of all animate things, his identification of body and soul, was but an extension of the Romantic gospel of universal brotherhood to a democratic pantheism. If all who shared such Romantic enthusiasm did not become reformers, the ideas themselves kindled the hearts of those who did give their all to elevate the oppressed and lowly, to usher in an order governed by the precepts of human fellowship.

To reformers with little taste for the abstractions of natural rights and the soft sentiments of Romanticism another doctrine of European origin, Utilitarianism, proved more congenial. We have already had cause to note the influence of one of the leading Utilitarians, Lord Brougham, on the American movement for the diffusion of knowledge. The teachings of Jeremy Bentham, who described himself to Andrew Jackson as "more of a United-States-man than an Englishman" and who further professed sympathy with what the hero of the people stood for, also played a part in the ideology of reform.

It would indeed be easy to overemphasize this influence in view of the fact that America had already realized so many reforms dear to Bentham's heart—the abolition of remnants of feudal custom, the amelioration of the penal code, the apparent elimination of war through a federal union, universal suffrage, and a sufficiently wide diffusion of knowledge to give practical weight to public opinion.



The Mission of San Luis Rey, 1798.  
(Courtesy, Wisconsin Historical Society.)

Samuel Johnson at King's College, About  
1755. (From *Harper's Magazine*, 1884.)



Benjamin Franklin



the virile antislavery historian and critic of common law, Richard Hildreth, be overlooked in this connection.

Indeed, virtually all the propaganda for reform shows Utilitarian influence. Utilitarians insisted that capital punishment, the withered and rotted fruit of a bygone era, failed to check crime and prevented more realistic attacks from being made on this important social problem. Temperance advocates contended that the closing of the dramshops and distilleries would save the masses from squandering their wages, raise the standard of living, increase the efficiency of labor, and by checking crime limit society's expenditures for prisons. Pacifist propaganda likewise made much of the idea that anachronous war wasted vast sums that might otherwise be channeled into welfare and educational undertakings; that, equally bad or even worse, it solved no problems permanently and conferred no good even on the victor. Above all, proponents of the abolition of imprisonment for debt and the harshest features of the criminal code drew heavily from Bentham's armory of arguments.

But the general spirit of Utilitarianism also played a part in the thought of reformers. Edwin Chapin, Universalist minister, crusader against the vices of the city, and advocate of leading reforms of the day, expressed what was in the minds of many of his colleagues when he declared that true greatness was not indicated by splendid achievements, hollow adulation, and groveling fear, but rather by usefulness, the only true test of distinction. "He who has wrought out some thing for the benefit of his fellowmen, who has labored in some truly good cause, is essentially a far greater man than many a wealthy millionaire, successful politician, robed conqueror, or laurel-crowned poet," Chapin declared.<sup>4</sup> It is obvious that such insistence on the supreme value of contributions to human well-being must have both inspired reformers and provided them with sanctions for their activities.

The opposition which Utilitarianism provoked testified no less than its support to the popularity it enjoyed as a bulwark of reform. Interests that feared the cutting edge of change denounced a philosophy that repudiated "fundamental principles" by frankly proposing an annual canvassing of constitutions and laws in the name of the greatest good to the greatest number. To some critics Utilitarianism was a pernicious casuistry which, reduced to practice, merely awakened the mind to the consciousness of self-love and provided as a rule of conduct the calcula-

<sup>4</sup> Edwin H. Chapin, *An Address on True Greatness* . . . (Richmond, Va., 1840), 5, 9.



tionally been the dominant classes, the merchants and clergy, rather than from the rising industrial and lower middle classes on farm and in shop. More recently, other historians have taken up this thesis, and have attempted to work it out in detail, not only for the Jacksonian period but for other periods of reform agitation as well. It is true that many of the sons and daughters of older professional and mercantile families did condemn the new moneyed aristocracy of industrial entrepreneurs, and the slums, poverty and degradation of industrialism. Leaders of reform movements recruited from classes of waning power might be inclined to denounce, as many did, the rising "lords of the loom," as Charles Sumner called the owners of cotton textile mills who in general tacitly supported the chattel slavery on which their own profits seemed to depend. So too might reformers recruited from the once-powerful classes be the more likely to excoriate—and many did—the industrial system which was associated with depressions, slums, poverty, crime, and prostitution. That many reformers did come from the formerly dominant ministerial and commercial classes is borne out by a study of the backgrounds of the men and women judged sufficiently distinguished in humanitarian crusades to be included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. But enough also sprang from the families of plain farmers and from the craftsman-mechanic class, and even from the ranks of the entrepreneurs themselves, to suggest that other factors in the motivation of reformers were at least as important as changes for the worse in their economic status.

While no clear relationship seems to exist between the periods of political revolt and the business cycle, much evidence could be mustered to support the thesis that the hard times following the panic of 1837 played a part in the expanding interest in social reform. Complacency toward the existing equilibrium naturally suffered a severe shock when whalers and other sailing ships were tied up lifeless at their moorings; when blast furnaces, shoe factories, and textile mills closed down; when in the great cities tens of thousands, penniless, ragged, and hungry, knew not which way to turn; when even professional men, shopkeepers, and farmers felt the pinch. When all these vicissitudes "drowned hope and created misery," it was natural for certain people from every social group to turn toward one or another of the reform causes.

In the name of democracy the special privileges of business were attacked and the rights of the working class vigorously asserted. Leaders of the trade unions, which revived in the early 1850s, protested against

our "merchant princes" are a great advance upon feudal chieftains? Whether it is better for the many to be prostrated by force, or devoured by cunning?<sup>7</sup>

Spokesmen for the less fortunate classes promoted programs for reform. The more extreme leaders who preached religious agnosticism or favored the distribution of landed property equally among the people won few recruits. Nevertheless, the agrarian proposals augmented the growing conviction that the problems of the urban laborer might be solved if the lands of the West were given away freely to any prospective settler. Other leaders of the urban worker favored the organization of trade unions capable of striking for better wages and working conditions. An even larger number emphasized political action and looked forward to the development of sufficient strength at the polls to enable the workers to obtain ten-hour-day laws, the ideal of those times, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, lien laws protecting the wages of the earner from unscrupulous exploitation by the employer, the abolition of privileged monopolies, and free compulsory education.

The appeal for free compulsory education aroused great interest among the industrial working class, which pinned its faith in the power of universal schooling to solve economic and social problems. The masses of urban poor were either illiterate or semiliterate, and few of their children could attend the handful of charity and church schools designed for them. The proud poor refused to take advantage of schools that stigmatized as paupers the children attending them. Some demanded day schools, but others advocated boarding institutions in which the state was to bear the entire expense of the upbringing of its wards. This extreme position was abandoned. Labor leaders and labor organizations, however, continued to demand free public schools at government expense and their demands carried weight in the crusade for universal free education.

A few labor leaders, chief among whom was Thomas Skidmore of New York, believed that any effort to redress the grievances of the working class through education alone was bound to prove both ineffective and detrimental. The system of production and distribution had to be reorganized, Skidmore held, before economic grievances could be redressed; and any effort to "hold back the people from their rights of property . . . until education, as they call it, can first be communicated

<sup>7</sup> Lydia M. Child, *Letters from New-York* (New York, 1843), I, 40.

reasonable subsistence to every individual able and willing to work for it and that in so far as industrialism failed to provide it, industrialism failed. Moreover, he continued, the economic tyrant who drew blood-stained income from the lives and hearts of the miserable victims forced to provide unrighteous profits to employers or landlords could be neither a Christian nor a true citizen. "Their money is accursed, because it is coined out of the tears and sorrows of humanity." The bishop went on to condemn the perjury of merchants at the customhouses, speculation at the risk of others, the defrauding of creditors by concealments, and the making of profits by acts of insolvency. In New York the Unitarian leader, Orville Dewey, denounced "the insane and insatiable passion for accumulation," the concentration of immense fortunes in a few hands while the rest of the world, in comparative poverty, enjoyed neither the fair rewards of industry nor an equal share in its advantages.

Religion played a large part in the inspiration of reformers themselves. Even those who, like William Lloyd Garrison, bitterly denounced the churches for their approval of slavery or their silence regarding it were essentially religious men. Indeed, most of the reformers eminent in the pre-Civil War decades were influenced greatly by ideas that grew out of the Puritan, Quaker, and evangelical traditions.

No one can read widely in the reform literature without being profoundly impressed by the religious character of the arguments that filled the tracts, periodicals, lectures, and private correspondence of the crusaders. The temperance reformers, most of whom were devoutly pious, not only insisted that Scriptures gave no warrant for alcoholic beverages; they opposed them on the score that they interfered with the progress of revivals and the spread of Christ's word, that in the tavern and dram-shop men and women most frequently began their downward course to sorrow and ruin. Peace advocates cited the Sermon on the Mount and other texts in proof of their contention that Christianity condemned war. But war was anathema to them not only because of their belief that the Bible forbade it, but also because it seemed to promote worldliness, the corruption of morals, and the stagnation of churches. Critics of capital punishment likewise found Scriptural texts to support their crusade; at the same time they pointed out that the irrevocable sentence to death sometimes cut the condemned off from a possible later repentance and always prevented his true moral reformation. No crusade was more directly inspired by Christ's doctrine of love and brotherhood than

must be given rank among the causes generating and propelling the currents of reform, it is clear that still other basic factors were at work.

### Democracy: Women's Rights

The wave of reforms which enlisted so much enthusiasm and so much condemnation in part reflected the advancing force of democracy and in part extended this force into the field of social relationships. Although American democracy in many ways was related to comparable patterns of thought in the Old World, especially to humanitarianism and Romanticism, in some ways it was a unique creed and program of action.

With much plausibility Ralph Gabriel has argued that the American democratic faith which had emerged by the mid-century included both a naturalistic and a supernaturalistic base. On the one hand it rested on the eighteenth-century faith in an orderly, law-governed universe in which both man and his institutions, the more these were harmonized with natural law, improved. On the other hand American democracy merged these concepts with a religiously fervent, transcendental faith in the dignity and potentiality and power of the individual, including the common man. The thoroughly consistent exponents of democracy widened the circle to include women and emphasized the individual not only as a final end but as a means of achieving that end. That end was the full growth and power of the individual, of every individual; the means by which this was to be achieved was individual effort, combined with that of others, to break down all the barriers, be they tradition, law, or interest, that stood in the way of elevating every individual in the most depressed ranks to full power and glory.

It was the merging of the rational doctrine of perfectibility and progress on the one hand with the religious emotion of individualism on the other that came to be identified with America both as a symbol and as an actuality. This complex of democracy and Americanism, as we shall discover in discussing nationalism and patriotism, further implied an inexorable faith in the eternal and universal superiority of America's republican and democratic institutions, of their fitness for all people, at all times, in all places, and of the duty of furthering their final triumph.

women did not discuss politics or the larger social issues. According to common law, husbands and fathers not only controlled the property of their wives and daughters but were entitled to complete submissiveness. Even the churches—the Quakers alone excepted—subordinated women by excluding them not only from the ministry but from any public participation in church affairs. Even in what presumably was woman's own sphere, the home, she was bound to be submissive to her husband's will in theory if not in practice. Catharine Beecher expressed in characteristic phraseology the prevailing ideas of sex relations in 1840: "Heaven has appointed to one sex the superior, and to the other the subordinate station," she observed, "and this without any reference to the character or conduct of either. It is therefore as much for the dignity as it is for the interest of females, in all respects to conform to the duties of this relation."<sup>9</sup> The prose articles and fiction in the popular women's magazines of the time faithfully reflect this point of view—the view of the plain people as well as of most intellectuals.

The first clear-cut and dramatic protest against such ideas came when Frances Wright, a Scottish friend of Lafayette, took up residence in the United States in 1824. Her championship of labor, of public education, and of gradual emancipation of the slave was no less ardent than her devotion to woman's rights. Undeterred by ridicule and venomous threats of physical violence for daring to support greater freedom in marriage relationships, birth control, and what was almost as shocking, the appearance of the delicate sex on the public platform, Frances Wright continued her agitation. Except in Quaker circles, where women had traditionally taken part in "meeting" and in ministration, her campaign met only with rebuffs. Nevertheless, the subsequent feminist campaign owed much to the clear, logical, and forceful arguments by which this courageous crusader denounced the subjection of women by law and custom and pleaded for their emancipation on every level—economic, social, and cultural.

What really launched the feminist crusade was the desire on the part of a small group of women to participate in the movement for the abolition of slaves. The refusal to admit women to the existing antislavery societies or even to permit them to speak in public for the cause led to defiance on the part of such women as Lucretia Mott, the Philadelphia

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Arthur W. Calhoun, *The Social History of the American Family* (Arthur C. Clark Co., 1917-1919), II, 83-84.

of Christianity and of natural law in the interest of an all-inclusive democracy. In the course of time more and more emphasis was put on the argument of utility. The full emancipation of women would, in the words of Elizabeth Oakes Smith, not only enable women to achieve that individuality which was their due; it would also make "the world the better for it." Once free women from the slavery that welded them, regardless of their true individuality, into one stereotype, and they would raise to new heights every cause dear to the best of men: justice, religion, freedom, democracy. The subordination of women, concluded Mrs. Smith, had made them a retarding force in civilization; their emancipation would convert them into a dynamic agent for its progress.

The most profound treatise on women's rights was Margaret Fuller's *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. In this remarkable book the New England Transcendentalist critic brought together virtually all the arguments in behalf of the full development of women as individuals, and to these she added certain psychological insights and social visions of her own. Sex, she contended, is a relative, not an absolute, matter: "There is no wholly masculine man, no purely feminine woman." Thus all nature cried out against the hard and fast barrier society had drawn between the two. Once this truth was recognized, women would cease living so entirely for men and begin to live for themselves as well. And in so doing they would, in truth, help men to become what had been promised, the sons of God. For men's interests were not contrary to those of women; they were identical by the law of their common being, a law which, if observed, would make them the pillars of one porch, the priests of one worship, the bass and contralto of one song. Man had educated woman more as a servant than as a daughter and had found himself a king without a queen. Stripped of its occasionally vague mysticism and its Transcendentalist verbiage, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* is seen to demand, on the score of reason, religion, and beauty, the elevation of sex relationships to a new and thoroughly democratic level.

Nor did the feminism of the mid-century decades operate merely on the plane of ideas. Thanks to the courage and energy of the pioneers and the encouragement of such sympathetic men as Channing, Emerson, Garrison, Greeley, and Phillips, a few women created careers that not only enabled them to support themselves and in some cases the less effective members of their families also, but at the same time afforded

of the Past."<sup>11</sup> Horace Greeley approached some of the conservative critics in analyzing reformers' motives in terms of personal factors. In his essay, "Reforms and Reformers," the crusading editor of the *New York Tribune* wrote that a great number of persons in a democratic society, believing themselves to be underrated in the world's opinion, promoted some reform not because of any genuine quarrel with the actual structure of society but solely because of their own place in it. According to this reformer the desire to be someone, the frustration of being unable to do with impunity much that desires promoted, led many a restless soul into the reform camp. "This class sees the Social World," Greeley declared, "so covered, fettered, interpenetrated by laws, customs, beliefs, which plant themselves firmly across the path whereon its members are severally pressing forward to gratification of every impulse, that it is plain that either Society is or they are sadly in the wrong; and imperious Appetite forbids the conclusion that *they* are."<sup>12</sup>

It remained for conservative intellectuals to criticize the reformer for what they termed his "dyspeptic zeal," inflexible commitment to an oversimplified formula, and indifference to the niceties of social convention. In a bright but mordant essay James Russell Lowell, once of the breed himself, declared that every reformer had a mission (with a capital M) to attend to everybody else's business and to reform, at a moment's notice, everything but himself. Other critics, pushing to an extreme the idea that Greeley expressed, charged that reformers were reformers by reason of mental dyspepsia. One of New York City's four hundred, a scion of the Astor family, facetiously had it that Mr. So-and-So took up with Fourieristic socialism because, being the most henpecked of men, he hoped that in the general distribution of women and goods incident to the triumph of the Cause someone else might get his wife!

That personal motives, psychological maladjustments, the unconscious drive to compensate for feelings of inadequacy and frustration did motivate many a reformer to take up the cudgels for the still more unfortunate Negro or inebriate or criminal is probably as true as it is undemonstrable. In any case the suspicion is at least present, to cite one or two from a score of possible examples, that Joshua Giddings found it

<sup>11</sup> *The Letters of Lydia Maria Child* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1883), 46-47, 72.

<sup>12</sup> Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1868), pp. 515-516.

critics of reform and of the democracy to which it was related suggests that much truth lies in the words of this penetrating crusader for the black man's freedom.

The southern tendency to identify all reforms with abolitionism—an understandable tendency—gives the Southerners an outstanding place among the critics of reform. The southern critique of reform, however, will be considered later in the discussion of the intellectual life of the Old South.

To those to whom the present seemed best to the degree that it preserved the past in customs and institutions, reform was a ruthless scythe. In urging the female graduates of an Alabama seminary to cling to the old, the ministerial orator declared that the Amazons of the age who raised a hurricane over such harebrained notions and speculations as women's rights and abolitionism were "no co-laborers with the mighty spirits of the past, who have bequeathed to us this good land, and the glorious institutions that we inherit." They were rather, he went on, "the disorganizers of civilization, the foes of liberty, the vampires of high-toned morals and chivalrous deeds."<sup>15</sup> In the words of a critic of the movement for the abolition of capital punishment, reformers had better "recollect that all movement is not progress, and that 'to innovate is not to reform.'"<sup>16</sup>

But reverence for the past was no more important a sentiment in the antireform literature than patriotism. Again and again feminism, abolitionism, and Utopian socialism were condemned as imported European vagaries that had no place at all in America. Even the British-born and British-trained scholar, George Frederick Holmes of the University of Virginia, himself a friendly correspondent of Auguste Comte, Europe's great philosophical innovator, began a critical review of Greeley's *Hints Toward Reforms* by stigmatizing the proposals under discussion as European importations and therefore un-American. More logical was the deeply felt fear that reform might disturb the traditional love of *laissez faire*, that it might augment the powers of centralized government and "the seductive embrace of power." Equally frequent was the argument in discussions of Utopian socialism that least of all countries should America permit it, inasmuch as here men of wealth had generally earned

<sup>15</sup> Joseph J. Nicholson, *The Influence of Literature, Art and Science, in Forming, Refining and Elevating Character* (Mobile, 1856), 14.

<sup>16</sup> *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVIII (November, 1852), 654.



pain and woe is impossible."<sup>18</sup> But no churchman represented this position so engagingly as the layman Nathaniel Hawthorne. It is true that this faithful follower of the Jackson men in politics had no illusions about American aristocrats, and that his sympathy with the exploited, whether on the plantation or in the mill, found expression. At the same time he was unable to pin his faith to mere reform. "Earth's Holocaust" allegorically pictured the reformers relentlessly heaping into a huge bonfire all that stood in the way of their object, only to find in the end that by neglecting to throw the human heart into the flames they had burned all but the earth itself to a cinder in vain! "The heart, the heart!—There was the little, yet boundless sphere wherein existed the original wrong of which the crime and misery of this outward world were merely types. Purify that inward sphere, and the many shapes of evil that haunt the outward, and which now seem almost our only realities, will turn to shadowy phantoms and vanish of their own accord."<sup>19</sup>

It was such an attitude, no less than the actual record of the churches on the reforms of the day, that led Greeley to indict professing Christians as obstacles to reform: "To the Conservative, Religion would seem often a part of the subordinate machinery of Police, having for its main object the instilling of proper humility into the abject, of contentment into the breasts of the down-trodden, and of enduring with a sacred reverence for Property those who have no personal reason to think well of the sharp distinction between Mine and Thine."<sup>20</sup>

All these sources of special interest, patriotism, and religion bulked large in the pressure of public opinion against reform. This despotic and intolerable restraint of conventional forms, Lydia Maria Child urged, led men and women to check their best impulses, suppress their noblest feelings, conceal their highest thoughts. "Each longs," she commented, "for full communion with other souls, but dares not give utterance to such yearnings." What hindered chiefly was the fear of what Mrs. Smith or Mrs. Clark would say, "or the frown of some sect; or the anathema of some synod; or the fashion of some clique; or the laugh of some club; or the misrepresentation of some political party. Oh, thou foolish soul! Thou art afraid of thy neighbor, and knowest not that he is equally

<sup>18</sup> James W. Massie, *An Address delivered before the Society of Alumni of the Virginia Military Institute* (Richmond, 1857), 11-13.

<sup>19</sup> Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Mosses from an Old Manse* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1882), 445.

<sup>20</sup> Horace Greeley, "Reforms and Reformers" in *op. cit.*, 524-525.

mands for the restraint of the people by fundamental laws, the best buttresses, he thought, for individual liberties.

Among the literary critics of democracy James Fenimore Cooper and Herman Melville may be taken as representative. Cooper, it will be recalled, quarreled with democracy not from any theoretical concern—he approved of democratic theory—but because of the everyday churlishness of ordinary people with their disrespect for the aristocratic values of decorum and dignity. As a large landowner he found additional reason to vent his spleen when the New York antirent agitation demanded the abolition of tenantry; equalitarian agrarianism was in his jaundiced eyes the worst possible of the evils born of democracy. Herman Melville's distrust of democracy was both more theoretical and more profound. He observed in one of his allegorical novels, *Mardi* (1849), that, after all, political freedom was not a prime and chief blessing; it was good only as a means to personal freedom, uprightness, justice, and felicity. These, continued the adventuresome and mystical sailor of the Southern Seas, were qualities not to be shared or to be won by sharing. On the contrary, they were virtues either born with the individual, civilized or barbarian, flesh of his flesh, blood of his blood, or to be won and held by him and by him alone. However loudly the thrall yelled out his liberty, he still remained a slave. In a universe in which chronic malady was a fact, the individual was more likely to be free, upright, just, and happy under a single monarch than if he were exposed to the violence and whims of twenty million monarchs, though he be one of them. "That all men should govern themselves as nations, needs that all men be better, and wiser, than the wisest of one-man rulers." Moreover, "That saying about *levelling upward, and not downward*, may seem very fine to those who cannot see its self-involved absurdity. But the truth is, that, to gain the true level, in some things, we *must* cut downward; for how can you make every sailor a commodore? or raise the valleys, without filling them up with the superfluous tops of the hills?"<sup>22</sup>

Cooper with his whining thrusts at men in shirtsleeves and Melville with his dislike of mankind in the mass spoke largely for themselves, though in a sense they also voiced the misgivings of the older Calvinist and Episcopalian mercantile and landed classes toward democracy. The most systematic attacks, however, came not from these quarters in the

<sup>22</sup> *The Works of Herman Melville* (Constable and Co., London, 1922-1923), VI, 206.

# The Rising Tide of Patriotism and Nationalism

*While the republics of North America are new, the ideas of the people are old. While these republics were colonies, they contained an old people, living under old institutions, in a new country. Now they are a mixed people, infant as a nation, with a constant accession of minds from old countries, living in a new country, under institutions newly combined out of old elements. It is a case so singular, that the old world may well have patience for some time, to see what will arise. . . . The Americans have no national character as yet.*

—HARRIET MARTINEAU, 1834-1836

*By some, patriotism or love of country is regarded as an airy bubble, raised by cunning statesmen to dazzle and bewilder the multitude. . . . Our country, if we truly love it, evokes our feelings, our judgment, our imagination, and solicits these, by an unforeseen persuasion, to employ themselves in adorning and exalting the object of their regard.*

—CORNELIUS MATTHEWS, 1839, 1845

they cherished, and what best promised to deepen and strengthen American patriotism. From a multitude of Fourth of July orations and academic addresses before the literary societies of the colleges, as well as from less ephemeral and out-of-the-way literature, it is possible to reconstruct a native diagnosis of American nationalism and patriotism in the period between South Carolina's nullification act in 1832 and the great Compromise of 1850. Few of these writings, it is true, were either systematic or philosophical. But some gave evidence of comprehensiveness and penetration. This was true of the writings of George Perkins Marsh, the Vermont philologist and diplomat who discussed the roles played in the development of national character by hereditary opinions, foreign relations, religious beliefs, climate and soil, and habitual modes of American life and institutional arrangements. Not everyone then saw so clearly as Marsh that a long period must elapse before what were at first impulses or passions of individuals or groups became the characteristics of a united people, and that ages might be required to change Old World habits of thought which ages had been employed to create.

### States' Rights, Sectionalism, and Cosmopolitanism

The fact that a marked development of nationalism and patriotism in thought and feeling is apparent during the years between 1830 and 1850 should not obscure the countertendencies of the period. We have seen that in the West a good deal of sectional self-consciousness was developing and that cultural regionalism was beginning to strike roots. And we shall see that the striking growth of sectional self-consciousness in the South was already paving the way for the experiment to be launched in 1861 in the name of southern nationalism. New England, too, thought in sectional terms even when her representatives, such as Daniel Webster, best succeeded in identifying her own interests with the interest of the nation itself. All this sectional self-consciousness was, of course, affected by such things as material conflicts over tariffs, internal improvements, and public lands.

In addition to sectionalism, state pride, especially on the Atlantic seaboard, continued to be a vigorous sentiment, and states' rights were jealously guarded. However much a variety of interests besieged the central government for favors, the theory of *laissez faire* won lip service in

with the help of these influences. . . . We must exercise discrimination, and reject what is bad while we accept that which is good."<sup>1</sup> The treaty Caleb Cushing negotiated with China in 1844 departed from English precedent in providing for the free intercourse of Americans with the learned men of China, for facilities for the study of the Chinese language and literature and the purchase of books, manuscripts, and other aids for gathering wisdom in all the arts and sciences from Chinese storehouses. It will be recalled that European and American scientists exchanged visits and publications and that, in spite of the patriotic pride of naturalists in descriptions of American geological formations, flora, fauna, and ethnological remains, American science was part and parcel of that of Europe. In a general sense this was true in other fields of learning. One evidence was that in 1835 four Americans were studying in German universities and that in 1860 twenty-seven could be found in those institutions.

Cosmopolitanism and eclecticism had votaries in literary circles. The proof of this may be found in the first instance in the indictments of American literature by patriots who resented its imitativeness. "Why cannot our literati comprehend the matchless sublimity of our position among the nations of the world—our high destiny—and cease bending the knee to foreign idolatry, false tastes, false doctrines, false principles? When," continued this patriot, "will they be inspired by the magnificent scenery of our own world, imbibe the fresh enthusiasm of a new heaven and a new earth, and soar upon the expanded wings of truth and liberty?"<sup>2</sup> But the fact that such enthusiasm for cultural nationalism also provoked criticism is additional evidence of the eclecticism of American letters in this period. Thus, for example, a writer in the *Whig Review* in 1845 took cultural patriots to task: "Amidst uncertain institutions and a heterogeneous population, we have mainly but a feeble and imitative literature, that servilely copies everything from abroad, and then seriously pretends to call its secondary inanities 'an American literature.'"

Others were impatient with the doctrine that America must turn its back on the glories of traditional literature. Lowell claimed Shakespeare and Milton as our own and deprecated a nationality that was "only a less narrow form of provincialism, a sublimer sort of clownishness and ill-

<sup>1</sup> Ezra S. Cannett, *A Sermon delivered in the Federal Street Meeting House in Boston, July 19, 1840* (Boston, 1840), 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Democratic Review*, VI (November, 1839), 428-429.

## Geographic and Economic Foundations

Evidences of cosmopolitanism in the new country were greatly overshadowed by a heightening of traditional patriotism and by the rise of newer elements, both materialistic and emotional, in American nationalism. In the discussions of nationalism during this period race played little part, though Gobineau, a French champion of Nordicism, was translated and published in Philadelphia. The Nordic concept of race was further expounded by George Perkins Marsh in *The Goths in New-England* (1843), by George Bancroft in his *History of the United States*, by such advocates of native Americanism as Frederick Saunders, and by occasional exponents of Manifest Destiny.

Geography figured more frequently than race in the ideology of American nationalism during this period. The time-honored conviction that God and nature had designed a unique geographical arena for the American experiment found continuous expression. "God designs that each country should wear a peculiar ideal physiognomy," wrote Thomas Starr King in 1851. The breakup of the Union into two or more confederacies would degrade God's handiwork—this was the moral King and his fellow nationalists did not hesitate to draw. The doctrine that God and nature had prescribed a fixed stage for the American experiment implied that the country was so blessed by isolation from Europe's quarrels that it might enjoy a kind of irresponsibility in international affairs. It is in large part this conviction that helps explain the quick collapse of the feeble movement for intervention in behalf of the crushed liberal revolutionists in 1848. The growing conviction that geography had provided material barriers for the antithetical political and social systems of the Old World and the New was related to the revival of the Monroe Doctrine in the 1830s and its growth in the following decades in popular sentiment and public policy.

If God had given the American people a unique physiognomy in the national terrain, expediency sometimes required the temporary modification of the presumably fixed and final lines. Albert K. Weinberg has shown, with a wealth of proof, that each time any section or group within the nation cast jealous eyes on some appendage, such as the Floridas, or Louisiana, or Oregon, or California, it was easy to declare

and a people that, from oppressed and dependent colonists, had become "a mighty nation, blessed beyond all others in social, civil, and religious privileges."<sup>6</sup>

The needs and values of business enterprise were intimately associated with patriotic and nationalistic ideas and sentiments. The Constitution was increasingly regarded as an incarnation of that law and order so essential to the countinghouse, the factory, and the mercantile establishment. Choate, Hillard, Webster, and other legal spokesmen for business regarded the Constitution as a sacred document on which the entire economic, political, and social fabric rested. It was the instrument that tied the states together into the national whole so essential to a national market and to the foreign and domestic policies through which business alone could expand. Protecting property rights as the Constitution clearly did, its provisions, once clarified by the Supreme Court, had to be obeyed even if, as in the Dred Scott decision, humanitarian sentiments were outraged. Thus the Constitution became a symbol of an order secure against revolutionary change and congenial to all the values dear to business enterprise.

Commerce and industry in demanding a strong national government furthered nationalism in another way. Only through a strong central government could many of the basic needs of business be met. Only a strong, respected central government could compel Chinese pirates, for example, to respect the Stars and Stripes; such a government alone could protect expanding commerce and win privileges for it through favorable commercial treaties. Moreover, a national government was of great use in the improvement of harbors, the maintenance of lighthouses, and the subsidizing of shipping. Nor was a strong government less indispensable to industry than to commerce. In addition to securing law, order, and property rights, to curbing reckless changes emanating from any one of the states, a national government could control finances in such a way as to eliminate the state issues of worthless paper; it could bear the expense or at least part of it for transcontinental railways and other internal improvements, and safeguard the protective tariff system. Friends of the tariff pointed out that besides benefiting industry a tariff would promote the self-sufficiency of the country, an inestimable boon in time of war.

In the exposition of the nationalism which was so congenial to the interests of commerce and industry the spokesmen of the new business

<sup>6</sup> *Charleston Courier*, July 4, 1840.



New Harmony, 1826.

The Lowell Offering, 1845.



Liberty and the Arts, 1849.





railroad—these embarrassing obstructions to national unity might disappear in the course of time. But the militant demand of the slavocracy to win over to itself the potentially powerful West through implanting slavery in the new country was something else; farmers and other humble people were involved in any such plan no less than business itself, which had increasingly important ties with the West. What choice business would make, what role patriotism and nationalism would play in this choice were to be revealed only in the critical year of 1861.

### Emotional Factors in Patriotism and Nationalism

Material considerations such as geography and economic ties by no means dominated the nationalistic and patriotic thought and feeling of the mid-century. Many would have applauded Thomas Starr King for brushing aside mere material factors and reminding the less well-off that even "the poor man should not feel poor when he thinks that his humble roof and circumstances are sheltered by a canopy of ideas and sentiments, such as never before arched over any palace in the world."<sup>7</sup>

Of these ideas and sentiments one was intimately connected with the physical features of the terrain itself. American writers in prose and verse gave no hint of becoming weary of their paeans to the American landscape. Artists of the Hudson River School with their romantic canvases, Currier and Ives with their popular prints of American scenes, and John Rawson Smith and John Banvard with their vast and much admired panoramas of the Mississippi valley endeared to American hearts the characteristic features of the country's landscapes. In the hope of still further developing the growing appreciation of America's unique landscape—its "physique, morale, its historic tradition, its poetic legend, its incident, adventure and suggestion," cultural patriots prepared illustrated volumes celebrating American scenery.

The sanctions of physical science were also invoked in behalf of patriotism and nationalism. The proneness of idealistic technologists to regard science as the means by which the promise of America was to be fulfilled has already been noted. This was not all, however. Thomas Starr King, who had some acquaintance with the ideas of both Newton and Galvani, declared in a popular lyceum lecture that the law of love

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Starr King, *Patriotism and Other Papers* (Boston, 1864), 40.

the texts of classical English authors and professor of literature at the University of Pennsylvania, declared at the Smithsonian Institution in his lectures on the history of the American Union that the hand of Providence had welded together the diverse materials of the colonies into one federal nation. In the generally religious climate of opinion this view of the national mission, with its implications of international irresponsibility, laissez faire, and individualism, somewhat overshadowed the rationalistic idea that here, in America, enlightened man was to conduct a great experiment in accord with the blueprints of the equalitarian philosophers.

Among the sentimental elements in the pattern of nationalism and patriotism the reverence for and idealization of the nation's past was of much moment. If the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution passed virtually unnoticed, the ubiquitous annual celebration of the Fourth of July kept alive the memory of the birth of the nation. The interest of the early Republic in the foundations of its history also broadened as a result of the movement for the diffusion of knowledge. Between 1830 and 1850 at least 35 historical societies were launched. Apart from focusing interest on the local history of the state or community, these societies did much to collect and preserve historical materials. Beginning with the Bunker Hill Monument near Boston, a series of monuments to the heroes and events of the Revolution served to perpetuate its memories and traditions in the eyes of the people. In 1833 the Washington National Monument Society began its work of issuing addresses to the American people, collecting funds, and organizing the sentiment of patriotism in various ways.

History textbooks were a supplementary means of presenting the American past in patriotic and nationalistic terms. Weems' biographies of national heroes were augmented by those of other no less patriotic authors and compilers, among whom Samuel Goodrich and William McGuffey take high rank. Other writers of schoolbooks in this field spared no pains to create in the minds of the growing generation of Americans dislike of England and a conviction that the Revolution was a heaven-sent revolt against intolerable tyranny, that the American people had been essentially united, not divided, in the struggle for independence, and that in subsequent historical events the nation and its leaders had right on their side. Some writers, it is true, did occasionally criticize the treatment of the Indians or suggest some of the

ing American institutions and outlooks. He also pleaded for the importance, in a republic, of rigid respect for the principles of historical criticism.

The difficulties confronting the historian in this respect were fully elaborated by an orator who pointed out that every speculative man possessed his own "peculiar notions of human nature, its whence and its whither, its progress and tendency," and that almost without exception these notions formed "the mould into which his generalizations were apt to run, and the bend of his mind will be, to discover a wonderful harmony, between his own preconceived opinions and the facts which history may have evolved."<sup>9</sup>

The inspiration of the past was coupled with that of the future as a source of patriotic pride and nationalistic feeling. Reference has already been made to the American doctrine of progress and its complex and pervasive penetration of American thought. It may be well briefly to indicate here the chief ideas in the doctrine of America's future. One was expressed in the slogan "Manifest Destiny." This assumed that fate had decreed the inevitable physical expansion of the United States to the Pacific. Extreme adherents of this doctrine believed that the entire continent of North America was destined to come under the jurisdiction or at least the sway of the United States. One toastmaster expressed this doctrine in characteristically fervid words: "The Eagle of the United States—may she extend her wings from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and fixing her talons on the Isthmus of Darien, stretch with her beak to the Northern Pole." During the Mexican War many a patriot similarly subscribed to the words of Senator H. V. Johnson, who, admitting in one breath the evils of war, in the next declared that it had been made by "the All-wise Dispenser of events, the instrumentality of accomplishing the great end of human elevation and human happiness" implicit in the extension of the sway of the Stars and Stripes over the Mexican provinces.

Others insisted that the true mission of America was not to inaugurate mere material prosperity and expanding power but rather to advance the moral elevation of the entire world. Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky declared that if the great principle that man is capable of self-government, the principle on which the fathers built the fabric, be true,

<sup>9</sup> S. Teackle Wallis, *Lecture on the Philosophy of History, delivered before the Calvert Institute, January 24, 1844* (Baltimore, 1844), 9.

pinched shoulders had to carry, was undoubtedly equal to the task. These symbols became familiar to the people through popular songs, sketches, and cartoons and by their engaging concreteness figured materially in the growth of patriotic and nationalistic feeling.

Allied to the national symbols were the national festivals. Of these the most important, of course, was the Fourth of July. Celebrated throughout the land with conviviality and the high-blown oratory of the time, the nation's birthday was an occasion for at least a temporary unity of sentiment that quite obliterated party and sectional cleavages. A thorough sampling of the addresses delivered on Independence Day clearly suggests that it played a significant role in reminding people of their national traditions, struggles, hopes, and aspirations. Less important than the Fourth with its pompous oratory and gay funmaking was Thanksgiving, a festival observed at first chiefly in New England and with considerable variation of date. But beginning in 1846 Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale, poetess and editor of the nationally read *Godey's Ladies' Book*, pursued a campaign for nationalizing the custom. "There is a deep moral influence in these periodical seasons of rejoicing," she wrote, "in which whole communities participate. They bring out . . . the best sympathies in our nation." As a result of her campaign, which involved the writing of thousands of letters to presidents, congressmen, and governors, as well as editorials in her magazine, the last Thursday of November came to be observed in a growing number of states. By 1858 all but six states celebrated the Pilgrims' feast on that day.

No doubt such symbols as the flag, "Brother Jonathan," and "Uncle Sam," the flowery oratory of the Fourth of July, and the idealization of national heroes, including the thanks-giving and courageous Pilgrims, did more to kindle sentiments of patriotism and nationalism among the plain people than did the discussion in which intellectuals indulged regarding race, geography, federal economic control, and a uniquely American literature and art. For although it is impossible to prove or disprove, there is probably much truth in Emerson's remark regarding the function of patriotic sentiment in the life of plain people:

. . . the dusty artisan who needs some consolation for the insignificant figure his sordid habits and feelings make in comparison with the great, and in comparison with his own conscience and conceptions, is fain to remember how large and honourable is the confederacy of which he is a member and, that, however low his lot, his resources are yet reckoned an integral part

sisted in the harmony of materials and lines to use or function. We had built Gothic temples of wood and omitted all ornament for economy, forgetful of the fact that material and ornament were essentials of the Gothic style. We had sought to bring the Parthenon to our streets by shearing the Greek temple, designed for worship, of its lateral colonnades, piercing its walls for light, and setting a chimney on its top! If Americans would create beauty in building, Greenough went on, let them learn from the animals, proportioned as they were for the type of activity that characterized them. Or let them learn from the majestic clipper ships, whose every line, spar, rigging, and sail was beautiful because proportioned to speed and safety.

American architecture, save in the clipper ship itself and in the traditional story-and-a-half house rooted in New England's hills, failed to develop as Greenough would have had it. Even his own colossal statue of Washington was garbed in a Roman toga! Nor were the comparable classic-inspired statues of Jefferson and Patrick Henry which Thomas Patrick carved, and those that Hiram Powers made of Adams, Jackson, and Webster, any more American than Greenough's. Even in painting there was little that could be called truly American. The Hudson River School did indeed capture some of the romantic loveliness of the Catskills, but in both technique and spirit these paintings by Cole, Durand, Kensett, and Doughty were derivative. Emanuel Leutze's "Washington Crossing the Delaware" was American and patriotic in theme to be sure, and so too were Bierstadt's panoramas of American scenery and Catlin's paintings of the Indians. But the American art that probably best exemplified American needs and American ideas consisted of the figureheads of sailing ships, utensils hewn of wood, and homemade furniture, rugs, and quilts and similar objects of folk craft. The rapid disintegration of craftsmanship, however, was a blow to any hope that a people's art might provide background and inspiration for a truly national school.

Cultural nationalists dared to hope that music, no less than art, might find inspiration in the American spirit. But however patriotic the words of "America" were, the air, of course, belonged to Germany. The music of the Italian and French opera in New York and New Orleans, the adaptations which Lowell Mason made of Handel, Haydn, and Beethoven for church services, and the impressive festivals of German immigrants all bore witness to the derivative character of music in America.

for discovering and exploiting archive material could conceal his ringing enthusiasm for political freedom and individualism and his faith in the Providence that from the start had guided America on its path toward unknown future glories. Nor, as the work of Richard Hildreth indicates, were Federalist historians, however lacking in Bancroft's worship of democracy, wanting in devotion to the nationalistic ideals that governed Federalist-Whig thought.

Editors and compilers rivaled historians in their display of patriotic ardor. Only intense national pride could have sustained Peter Force in his labors to persuade Congress to sponsor the publication of a massive collection of documents of the revolutionary era. However reluctant the national legislature was to go the full way toward meeting Force's ideal, it did purchase the papers of some of the fathers of the country for preservation in the Library of Congress. The records of the birth of independence which Jared Sparks collected in his *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution* supplemented the work of Force and other archivists. Sparks also presented his fellow citizens with editions of the writings of Benjamin Franklin and George Washington, marked by editorial liberties designed to cover up any evidence of shortcomings in these revolutionary fathers—even misspellings! Nor were the patriotic efforts of collectors of records confined to the Atlantic seaboard. Lyman C. Draper won support from the youthful state of Wisconsin for his admirable work in collecting from the cabins of pioneers not only account books and other records but life histories as well. Thus in large measure patriotism inspired the collection of materials which ultimately would make possible the critical and scientific evaluation of patriotic myths.

Other types of literature proved to be less sensitive to the tugs and pulls of nationalistic sentiment than historical writing. In a minor degree this was the result, no doubt, of the failure of the plans for the full achievement of a distinctively American language. In some part the imperviousness of American belles-lettres to the nationalism of the critics was also to be ascribed to the failure of the cultural patriots to achieve the international copyright, which in their eyes would have encouraged a native literary product by excluding the cheap reprints of competing English authors. But the relative failure of American writers to discover new forms of expression suitable to the American spirit was also the result of the fact that American nationalism itself was only in the making. However much immigrants enriched American intellectual and

many pieces obviously patriotic in material and inspiration followed in form the melodramas of Kotzebue and the Gothic school; this was clear in such plays as Bannister's *Putnam*, the *Iron Son of '76*, Conrad's pro-democratic *Jack Cade*, and Stone's *Metamora*, which exploited the Indian theme. The dialect plays featuring the "tarnally cute" Yankee, such as *The Vermont Wooldealer* and *The People's Lawyer*, were more original in form as well as in substance. The hairbreadth adventures, the bustle, the lawlessness, and the tall tales of the "gamecocks of the wilderness" made such pieces as *The Lion of the West* and *The Kentuckian* redolent of the backwoods.

Much material that is both close to the plain people and authentically American was tucked into country newspapers, popular organs of sports and humor, especially in *The Spirit of the Times*, jest books, and almanacs. The improvisations and homespun wit of the "crackerbox philosophers," the understatement of the Yankee peddler or stay-at-home "down-Easterner," the racy dialect and mimicry of the backwoodsman yarning his vivid, incongruous, and feverish incidents and caricatures—in these above all else is to be found the expression of regionalisms which easily merged into the distinctive elements of a national culture. And to them must be added the humor of the black man, a humor which, beneath its fun and pathos, good-naturedly criticized the white man's shortcomings. With the rise of commercial minstrelsy, blackfaced white comedians interpreted the indigenous songs and fun of the Negro to ordinary people everywhere. Thus he who searches for what was distinctively American in the literature of the 1830s and 1840s will turn to Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes*, Hooper's *Some Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs*, Thompson's *Major Jones' Courtship*, Baldwin's *Flush Times in Alabama and Mississippi*, the "autobiography" of Davy Crockett, and the inimitable Yankee sketches in which Seba Smith, Charles A. Davis, and Thomas Chandler Haliburton made "Major Jack Downing" and "Sam Slick" household characters.

School education was a basic force in the development of American nationalism. During this period American educational thought and practice were subjected to foreign influence. Lancaster, Pestalozzi, and Fellenberg were important figures in this country's educational thought. Above all, from the reports which Bache, Barnard, Mann, Smith, and Stowe brought of Prussian education, Americans gleaned much that served to raise professional standards. Yet American education, which

the losses involved in the impiety and immorality incident to war. That the colonies might ultimately have won their freedom, or at least the kind of freedom enjoyed by Scotland, seemed in the minds of consistent pacifists an additional reason for daring to oppose even the struggle so thoroughly enshrined in the hearts of all patriots. The Mexican War, even more than the Revolution, was condemned by pacifistically minded men as an unjust crusade in the interest of power, slaves, and lands. The *Advocate of Peace* published documents illustrating the Mexican position and exposed the patriotism evoked by the war as a mere coverage for profiteering, army corruption, and the taxation of the working classes.

Similar views of the Mexican War were also widely held outside the ranks of the peace movement, especially in New England. James Russell Lowell's celebrated *Biglow Papers* pulled no punches in calling war plain murder. The venerable Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania regarded the conflict as an excellent example of the perversion of patriotism. If, during the War, some condemned what passed for patriotism, other critics went even further. Gerrit Smith, a New York reformer and member of Congress, ridiculed as an exceedingly fanciful and pernicious doctrine the idea that a nation is a being apart from its people, morally responsible and punishable. Under the influence of the venerable tradition of natural law, many moral doctrinaires insisted that when government defies Higher Law, man must resist or separate himself from the offending hand. Still more pronounced extremists, like William Lloyd Garrison with "Our Country is the world—Our Countrymen are mankind" as his motto, embraced the whole creed of nonresistance and for a time refused to cooperate with a government based in their eyes on force. Uncompromising individualists who pushed the nonresistance position to philosophical anarchism believed with Stephen Pearl Andrews that ultimately nations, representing as they did the modern form of tribalism, would dissolve into the individuals composing them; that patriotism would expand into philanthropy; that piece by piece the clumsy fabric of government would be disposed of.

The classic statement of this kind of thinking is, of course, Henry David Thoreau's *Essay on Civil Disobedience* (1849). In part a protest against the Mexican War, which he took to be unjustified aggression in behalf of materialistic values, and in part an explanation of his refusal to pay a tax that he assumed was being used in support of the War,



Henry Wheaton, the distinguished authority on international law, spoke when he wrote: "May our happy union not be torn asunder, even before we have gathered its best fruits in the successful cultivation of science and letters, under the shadow of its protecting wings; and before we have produced any works of art or genius to command the admiration and envy of posterity, and worthy of that glorious liberty, the choicest of the many blessings which Providence has showered upon us!"<sup>15</sup> In spite of the Compromise of 1850, disunion remained a dark and threatening shadow. Nationalism, in the sense of both confidence in the strength of the federal government and devotion to the nation as a whole, remained a partial reality, a hope, and an aspiration.

<sup>15</sup> Henry Wheaton, *An Address pronounced at the opening of the New York Athenaeum* (New York, 1824), 22.

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# Triumph of Nationalism

# 17 Cultural Nationalism in the Old South

Because the brood-sow's left side pigs were black,  
Whose sable tincture was by nature struck,  
Were you by justice bound to pull them back,  
And leave the sandy colored pigs to suck?

—GEORGE MOSES HORTON, *The Slave*, 1829

Of the masses of the South, black and white, it is  
more difficult for one to obtain information, than of  
those of any country in Europe.

—FREDERICK LAW OLMTED, 1856

Many in the South once believed that it [slavery]  
was a moral and political evil. That folly and delu-  
sion are gone. We see it now in its true light, and  
regard it as the most safe and stable basis for free  
institutions in the world.

—JOHN C. CALHOUN, 1838

"We were all of us Americans—intense, self-satisfied, self-glorifying Americans," wrote George Cary Eggleston in looking back on the 1840s, "but we had little else in common. . . . We had different ideals, . . . different traditions, and different aspirations."<sup>1</sup> This was true of rural in contrast with city dwellers. It was true of old Americans in contrast with

<sup>1</sup> George C. Eggleston, *Recollections of a Varied Life* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1910), 6.

Negroes in a population of 12,000,000. Of these 3,838,765 were enslaved. In contrast with this situation slavery had disappeared in all the northern states except Delaware. The free Negro in the North was an obscure minority. Since the Negro constituted a third of the population of the southern states and in a special sense differentiated them from the predominately rural states in the North, it may be well to begin an examination of the intellectual life and problems of the South by considering the mind of the Negro.

This is no easy task. The underlying assumptions of everyone who has interpreted the evidence or tries to interpret it greatly influence what is made of the evidence. Nor is there much firsthand evidence. The Negro was for the most part illiterate and left no written records. Those who escaped to the North and wrote their memoirs were, in one sense at least, exceptional. Furthermore, many of the ex-slave autobiographies were edited by abolitionist friends. Long after emancipation some were questioned regarding their happiness or unhappiness in bondage, but these limited and random interrogations, 70 or 80 years after Appomattox, obviously have limited value.

The Negroes, it is true, did sing, and it might be supposed that these songs reflect their views regarding cosmology, God, human nature, the whites, the South, and slavery. Yet it is all but impossible to determine when particular songs began to be commonly sung. It is also true that many of the religious songs or spirituals were either taken over from or greatly influenced by the camp-meeting gospel hymns. The words of many of these, common to both whites and blacks, contrasted worldly sufferings with heavenly bliss; thus it is not easy to say whether originally and in the minds of the Negroes the references to Egyptland meant merely the bondage of sin, or physical slavery; nor is it easy to say whether the references and symbols in the spirituals symbolize in some peculiar way the fears, hopes, and dreams of the blacks. Though perhaps the work songs were less affected by the music of the dominant race, the field hands were nevertheless definitely encouraged to sing these gay rhythms in order that they might work more efficiently.

In addition to the songs, the Negroes also told stories in their cabins which no doubt reflected their African cultural heritage and their views on many matters. But this folklore again has come to us largely through the whites and long after the days of slavery; it was, in fact, only when Joel Chandler Harris began in postbellum years to set down the dialect

script, and that George Horton, a pure African who remained in bondage until Appomattox, published two volumes of poems on religion, death, nature, love, play, slavery—and freedom:

Alas! and am I born for this,  
To wear this slavish chain,  
Deprived of all created bliss  
Through hardship, toil, and pain?

But the most impressive contributions of the Negroes to literature in this period are, of course, to be found among the hundred-odd autobiographies written or dictated after escape to the North. In these, even when allowances are made for the editing by abolitionists and in some cases for invention, are evidences of ability to tell a dramatic story effectively, of poetic imagination, of the power of indignation and bitterness, and occasionally of an amazing objectivity. Sojourner Truth's *Narrative* (1850) and Frederick Douglass' *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855) are writings of simple beauty and power.

Educational opportunities for the free Negro were extremely limited in the South. Free Negroes in such cities as Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans now and then maintained schools for their children or sent them to institutions supported by charity and in a few instances by public funds. As late as 1833 John Chavis, an able Negro scholar in Latin and Greek, trained unofficially at Princeton, was still teaching the sons of North Carolina's gentry. But in the main free Negroes possessed no more than the rudimentary branches. Nor did the southern free Negro, even if he was lucky enough to be able to take advantage of the relatively superior educational opportunities in the North, always fare well. Opposition to coracial education led to mob violence against schools in Connecticut and New Hampshire. Notwithstanding race prejudice, however, it was still possible for a few Negroes to obtain academic degrees at Bowdoin, Dartmouth, and Oberlin, and even to practice professions for which they had been trained abroad.

The testimony of ex-slaves and travelers as well as that of certain songs suggests, if common sense does not, that many slaves yearned for freedom. A study of the Negroes' conception of God shows that the black folk tended to select from many variants of the Christian God values which answered in part their need for freedom—the values that made Him the Creator of all mankind from one blood and clay, that pictured

religious with an emotional tenseness heightened by his need for an outlet. Supernaturalist and realist at the same time, he was finally an artist, as the great beauty of the songs he sang will always testify.

### The Poor Whites and the Yeomanry

The so-called poor white is not to be confused with the much larger and far more important yeoman class. The poor white's environment—the sand barrens or the sterile soils abandoned by the planter, or the mountains and hills—fashioned his outlook on life just as the slave's environment molded his. If he was as ignorant of book learning as the Negro, he differed from the black man in disparaging it. This was in part the result of a "sour-grapes mechanism" and in part an expression of his deep-seated suspicion and hatred of the cultured planting class. Like the Negro a frequent victim of hookworm, he was sapped of vitality and ambition. His color, which almost alone differentiated him from the free Negro, became in his mind a fetish, and this accounts not only for his hatred of the Negro but also for his willingness to accept and support the institution of slavery. He may have dimly suspected or even in some cases have been conscious of some of the arguments against slavery which Hinton Rowan Helper, a North Carolinian of yeoman background, expressed in *The Impending Crisis* (1857), a book which the planting aristocracy largely succeeded in suppressing. Helper maintained that slavery degraded the poor white by forcing him to compete unequally with slave labor and by crowding him from the richer lands, which the planter could always buy, into the poorer and exhausted soils of abandoned plantations or steep, eroded hillsides. Often proud, bellicose in his clannishness but wanting in ambition, superstitious and at times given to an indulgence in a primitive sort of revivalism, the poor white really possessed but one esthetically satisfying way of expressing himself, his songs. He was apt to know both gospel hymns and the ballads inherited from his Scotch-Irish or English ancestors, and his creative instinct found some outlet in the new versions he occasionally gave to a ballad.

The yeoman, a more or less substantial farmer who might own no slaves at all or might have a few with whom he himself worked in the fields, merged on the one side into the small planter class and on the other into the mass of poor whites. With the poor whites he cherished

## The Planting Class

In 1860 only a small proportion of the white population in the South approximated the gentry class in status and culture. According to the census of that year, only 383,637 were slaveholders in a total white population of over 8 million; thus not more than one-fourth of the whites were identified with slavery by ownership or family ties. Less than 50,000 slaveowners held twenty or more chattels; probably no more than 250,000 whites were closely associated with this large planter group. Nevertheless, the values of this group increasingly became the ideal of small planters and even of the more ambitious yeoman. In addition, the professional classes in the cities of this overwhelmingly rural section generally thought in terms of the planting aristocracy and aspired to become owners of plantations. Thus the intellectual values and achievements of the planting aristocracy were of much greater importance than the number of this class would suggest.

The typical large planter, especially if of seasoned family, was a man of intellectual culture. As a boy he had enjoyed the instruction of a tutor more than likely the product of a northern seminary or college. He might well have attended one of the large number of private academies in which he continued the studies he had begun at home in preparation for college. Thence he was likely to have gone to West Point, Annapolis, Princeton, Yale, Harvard, or some other northern college, or to one of the state universities or denominational institutions in his own section—institutions that approximated in curriculum and instruction all but the two or three most exceptional colleges of the North. An occasional young planting aristocrat tasted the culture of Europe on a grand tour or studied at one of the British or Continental universities.

The culture of the large planter continued to reflect the old-time ideal of versatility. He was likely to have received training in the humanistic classics and in law. His library contained the ancient classics, Shakespeare, some of the eighteenth-century writers—especially Addison, Steele, Johnson, and Goldsmith—and a sprinkling of legal, religious, philosophical, and scientific books. The shelves not infrequently housed a handsomely bound file of one of the British or northern quarterly reviews as well as the debates of Congress and perhaps a file of a leading southern newspaper. The planter's library also reflected the interest of his

not to overlook the fact that the southern planter, however much he disparaged "Yankee" materialism and acquisitiveness, yearned for ever larger estates and an ever larger number of slaves—the basis of plantation economy and prestige.

### Contributions to Natural Science and Belles-Lettres

No discussion of the original contributions made in the Old South to intellectual development can be very illuminating without reference to the relation of the small professional class in the towns and cities to the plantation aristocracy. The professional group, recruited from the North, the yeomanry, and the plantation class itself, was in the main thoroughly sympathetic to the plantation philosophy which came to dominate increasingly the intellectual life of the Old South. The planter himself was for the most part appreciative and receptive, rather than original and creative, in his attitude toward learning and the arts. Occasionally, however, a planter did contribute with his pen to southern scholarship and literature; this he did, of course, without ceasing to be a planter.

Contrary to a long-prevailing impression, natural science figured in the intellectual life of the Old South as well as law, oratory, and letters. The Smithsonian Institution owed much in its inception to Joel Poinsett of South Carolina, a generous patron of the fine arts and of natural history. It will be recalled that Gerald Troost, of Dutch birth and training, promoted geological knowledge during his long residence in Nashville. It will also be remembered that Matthew Fontaine Maury was southern by birth and sympathy. His exploration of the seas was complemented by the investigations which Joseph Le Conte of Franklin College in Georgia carried on in connection with a study of the reefs of the Florida coast. Le Conte not only showed the importance of the affinities of gymnosperms in the formation of barrier reefs; in a paper read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science he aroused discussion in European circles by his effort to correlate physical, chemical, and vital forces.

Though the vast mineral resources of the South were all but unknown, important beginnings were made by the studies in the chemistry of minerals which won for J. Lawrence Smith of South Carolina a leading



in *Swallow Barn* painted a nonpolitical idyll of plantation life, in *The Annals of Quodlibet* satirized the crudities and foibles of the democratic Jacksonianism, which was anathema to him as a Whig lawyer rooted in the traditions of Virginia's aristocratic tidewater and Baltimore's patrician society. It remained for Nathaniel Beverley Tucker to do full justice to the rising southern impatience with Yankee "domination." His pro-states' rights and prosouthern *The Partisan Leader* (1836) predicted secession and was no doubt intended to promote a war psychology in defense of plantation interests.

If the plantation ideal was reflected in much that was written, the frontier stage through which the trans-Appalachian South passed in the early decades of the century also found its way into letters. Among the humorists already mentioned in connection with the achievement of a distinctive Americanism in literature, many wrote of the southern frontier. Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, William Tappan Thompson, Johnson J. Hooper, and others realistically depicted the racy, swashbuckling life of the back country in its earlier stages. The amusing rascals and saucy fellows with their practical jokes, vulgar pranks, and fighting, their picturesque dialect and curious epigrams, all served to give distinction to the humorous writings inspired by the southern frontier.

In general, the southern aristocracy found it more congenial and fitting to express the creative intellectual impulse in oratory than in historical novels, plantation romances, and humorous sketches. Aristocratic politicians appreciated oratory as a weapon for winning the support of, or at least rendering politically impotent, the semiliterate masses. Some of the great orations of John Randolph and John C. Calhoun, rich in classical allusions and true to the Aristotelian pattern of an oratorical composition, survived, but most of the embroidered oratorical rhetoric was as ephemeral as it was florid.

### Social and Economic Thought

Economic and political essays and treatises were often as serviceable to the plantation interest as oratory, and more enduring. Even before Jefferson's death in 1826 the liberal thought for which he stood had already begun to be pushed into the background as patterns of thought emerged more congenial to the changing character of the population.

councils by checking the traditional southern emphasis on states' rights, an emphasis that promised to be less and less effective in Washington in curbing policies deemed hostile to southern interests and values. All these changing interests and ideas evoked champions among social thinkers.

In many respects George Tucker of the University of Virginia was a transitional figure in the changing social thought of the South. His sympathies were more largely with the intellectualism of Jefferson than with the piety and morality of Professor McGuffey. He had scant respect for a scholarship that made intellectual values secondary to piety, morality, or Utilitarianism. He followed the older Jeffersonian liberalism, too, in his belief that slavery was an economic and social evil of which the South, if left to her own devices, would somehow rid herself. But in reacting against the rising Jacksonianism Tucker tended to identify himself with the more conservative Whigs who, in a sense, were the descendants of the Federalists rather than of the Jeffersonians. Yet Tucker, although he espoused the Whig tenet of government control over money and banks in the interest of property, parted company with northern Whigs in opposing protective tariffs. In addition to writing essays on money, banking, statistics, and other aspects of political economy, he prepared *The History of the United States*, which was intended to correct the penchant of northern nationalistic historians by emphasizing the great importance of localism and states' rights in the country's past.

Southern political and social thought reached its greatest height in the writing of a practical political leader, John C. Calhoun. Puritan in his asceticism, morality, and even his Episcopalianism, Calhoun was, for all his quasi-romantic talk about the resemblance between southern and Greek democracy, a profound realist. In the interest of the planting aristocracy and, as he thought, in the interest of the whole South, the South Carolinian tore to pieces Jefferson's castle built on the ideas of humanitarianism, natural rights, and an educated democracy of small landholders. In its place he reared a structure designed to do two things: to justify slavery and the aristocratic domination in the South on the one hand, and, on the other, to insure the protection of the southern minority in the federal scheme. In one sense, but only in one sense, did Calhoun shift from the highly nationalistic position which, at the time of the War of 1812, promised to serve the South well. He remained a true lover of the Union, a nationalist at heart, but he came to believe that the

tion. Eventually, as power and ownership became more and more concentrated in the hands of the rich, and as the resources of the laboring class neared the subsistence level, a revolution would destroy the economic and social structure. In order to ward off this eventuality, Calhoun proposed an alliance between northern capitalists and southern planters in the interest of preserving the status quo. The South's more stable social system, including the "necessary" institution of slavery, would act as a conservative force, delaying the revolution. In return the northern capitalists would attempt to stifle abolitionist agitation.

In the absence of such a league of capitalists and planters, Calhoun devised a system to preserve both the Union and slavery against the rapidly growing industrial North and the free-labor West. This system at the same time appeared to be the only possible means of achieving what Calhoun called justice. The majority, he would have it, always and inevitably tyrannizes over the minority, which must in consequence have ways and means for protecting itself; this, he insisted, was the great unsolved problem in government, a problem that became particularly acute in a democratic confederation. The South, being the minority, must through states' rights, nullification, and a kind of sectional referendum be able to set aside any federal law or arrangement deemed contrary to its interest. And if these protective mechanisms broke down, the southern states could always withdraw from the Union—a mere confederacy of limited powers. However unfortunate this eventuality would be to all who like Calhoun loved the confederacy and hoped to see it perpetuated, it would be far preferable to the tyranny imposed by a majority. All these ideas Calhoun worked out in his political speeches and in the *Disquisition on Government* with a calm logic and a persuasive abstraction about justice and freedom. If democracy be regarded as multiple leadership, multiple participation, and the sharing of values deemed good, Calhoun's conception was indeed limited. But this limitation should not obscure the fact that he did make a bold and original effort to come to grips with one of the great problems of democracy—the protection of minorities.

The broad basis which Calhoun thus laid down was elaborated in great detail by the school of thought he represented. His contention that liberty would prove a curse rather than a blessing when forced on a people unfit for it was specifically applied to the North in the writings of a Virginia planter, George Fitzhugh. Like Calhoun, Fitzhugh argued

the chief protagonists of the South's "peculiar institution." The argument from Scripture was regarded as an especially important buttress. The Tenth Commandment and innumerable references in the Bible proved beyond doubt that slavery was a divine institution; St. Peter, St. Paul, and Christ Himself had urged slaves to obey their masters. Moreover, just as slave labor had erected the magnificent Temple of Solomon, so now in the South slave labor was erecting a civilization of dignity and beauty and splendor. All this could come to a terrible end if abolition triumphed, for that, alas, would mean the triumph of barbarism, the Africanization of the South.

The fear that with abolition the South would cease to be a "white man's country" encouraged speculation regarding the innate inferiority of the Negro and the obscure problem of the origin of the races. In 1854 Dr. Josiah C. Nott of Mobile, with the aid of George R. Gliddon, a former consul in Cairo, published *Types of Mankind*, an impressive volume in which the ethnological argument for slavery was elaborated. These writers cited as an authority for the doctrine of the diverse as opposed to the unitary origin of races, Dr. Samuel Morton, a Philadelphian who, on the basis of his comparative study of 1655 skulls, had inferred that environmental differences could not explain the differences in crania, and therefore the various races must have originated separately. Though, as the Reverend John Bachman, a Lutheran minister in Charleston and a scientist in his own right, pointed out, this contradicted Scripture, the argument fitted in too well with the need of proving the Negro to be innately a race debased and inferior in both body and mind, to be lightly cast aside.

Through the pulpit, the newspaper, and the oration, as well as through formal treatises, all these aspects of the proslavery argument became familiar to Southerners in the two or three decades preceding secession. The apology for slavery and the indictment of northern industrial capitalism and of the abolitionists also found their way into fiction. At least fourteen proslavery novels appeared shortly after *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and each made use of one or more of the arguments from the Bible, from expediency, from ethnology, and from example. At the same time the South, by a vigorous system of censorship, closed its mind to the efforts of critics of slavery to refute the most distinctive and original results of southern scholarship in the field of social thought.

candidate, John C. Fremont. Francis Lieber of South Carolina College disliked slavery but by the exercise of great tact was able to keep his position until he was called to Columbia. His correspondence testifies to his conviction that slavery cramped scholarship by suppressing freedom of discussion. Quakers, some Germans, an unknown number of yeomen and mechanics, and even a few planters continued to cherish antislavery views; but the forum, the press, the church, the school, and the college became so restricted that it was all but impossible for them to make their views known. If they did, opprobrium, or worse, was likely to be their lot.

Thus a relatively free mind, an ingredient in any vigorous and creative intellectual life, was difficult to achieve in the antebellum South. At the same time it must not be assumed that the South was unique in this respect—the repression of abolitionists during the 1830s in the North must not be forgotten. College students were occasionally forbidden to form abolitionist societies, three professors were dismissed from Western Reserve College because of their antislavery views, and the abolitionism of Professor Charles Follen at Harvard seems to have accounted in part for his having to discontinue his instruction there. But certainly more freedom of thought prevailed in the North than in the South.

In so far as slavery was responsible for limiting the economy of the South to the plantation system and for checking the growth of commerce, industry, and urbanism, its indirect effects in retarding a creative intellectual life were considerable. Several considerations, however, suggest that it was only one factor in explaining the predominantly rural character of the Old South. Another great section of the country which did not have slaves, the West, was also predominantly rural. The Tredegar iron works in Richmond and other industrial enterprises proved that slave labor could be profitably employed in shops and factories. Although slavery did militate against the development of commercial and industrial capital by turning back profits into slaves, the general lack of fluid capital and the prevailing extractive character of American economy also help explain the rural basis of life in the Old South.

The prevalence of a rural economy had much to do with the fact that the South was far behind the North in many of the agencies of intellectual life. In spite of the hopeful beginnings of public school education in a few states, especially in North Carolina, the South provided less opportunity to the mass of white population for schooling than the other

tion for the feeling that this lack was a factor in the habitual reluctance of many cultured men who might occasionally have something worth saying in print to do so. In library facilities too the South was lamentably behind the North.

The rural character of southern life was further responsible for its failure to make as good a showing on a creative intellectual level as New England and the middle states. More than one ambitious young physician, lawyer, or college teacher confessed that the difficulties of sustained creative study and writing were enhanced by the tendency of the southern aristocracy to attach great value to out-of-doors sports, to the demands of hospitality, to "gracious living" and the social amenities that distinguished the plantation way of life. Moreover, the leisure which the lord and lady of the great white-columned house had in theory was pared down in fact by a multitude of tasks and responsibilities.

The planting aristocracy, however proud of its polite learning, looked with condescension on any of its sons who might be ambitious to make a career of literature; this attitude had a discouraging effect on youth who were ambitious for a life of letters or had the scholar's temperament. Richard Henry Wilde, famed for his romantic lyric "My Life is Like the Summer Rose," was regarded as a derelict for spending seven years in Italy on his two-volume work on Tasso. Save for Poe and William Gilmore Simms, all the men who achieved any distinction in letters were primarily concerned with professional interests other than writing. The fate of Poe is well known. Simms, in spite of his defense of slavery and his celebration of South Carolina's heroic past during the Revolution, felt that he was unappreciated by the aristocracy. His second marriage brought him somewhat within its social nexus. But he always felt alienated because his work failed to be appreciated by the southern blue bloods. This may, of course, have been partly the result of the technical shortcomings in his novels; it may also have been the result of the paradoxical distaste of the vigorous, sports-loving aristocracy for what Parrington has called the Elizabethan qualities of Simms—his gusto, virility, robust poetical feeling, and picaresqueness. But Simms was not entirely wrong in his conviction that to the ruling class the making of literature was of relatively little consequence in the hierarchy of values of plantation society.

Further evidence of indifference toward professional letters was the failure to support southern literary periodicals—Legaré's *Southern Re-*

cially the Presbyterians, were threatened by a similar cleavage. Northern literature was attacked in the South on sectional grounds, and demands for a distinctively southern literature became more frequent and more extreme. As early as 1835 the editor of the *Southern Literary Journal* declared that the periodical would, "at all times, breathe a Southern spirit, and sustain a strictly Southern character." *The Southern Literary Messenger* deplored the literary vassalage of the South to the North and urged southern writers "to press onward to the zenith of distinction, with unswerving purpose."<sup>3</sup> Years later another editor of the same periodical urged southern writers to cease trying to imitate Shakespeare and Tennyson, to give up straining at the false historical, and in coming down to the soil that gave them birth to achieve true southern distinction. Other cultural patriots had fewer doubts in regard to southern talent and achievements. The reluctance of Southerners to patronize southern authors was bitterly attacked by the *Richmond Whig*, which insisted that the South had numberless men of ripe scholarship, profound acquirements, and elegant and forcible style, richly deserving of the support and applause given to inferior authors in the North. In the same vein the editor of the *Southern Field and Fireside* wrote that the southern people had too long been content to look to northern periodicals for instruction in agriculture and to northern literary papers for mental recreation. But, he continued, "our people are awakening to the conviction that we have the elements of success in the experience, knowledge, and scientific investigation of the dwellers in our Southern homes. The truth is gleaming upon us that we have literary resources of our own worthy to be fostered—that among Southern writers should be divided some portion of that vast stream of Southern money that flows perpetually Northward to sustain Northern literature."<sup>4</sup>

The educational dependence of Dixie on Yankeedom was deplored in much the same terms. Southern youth, declared speakers at the Southern Commercial Conventions and writers in *De Bow's Review*, should not be sent North to be corrupted by "free" institutions; they should be kept at home for proper training in their own academies and colleges. This plea seems to have had effect, for during the heated 1850s South-

<sup>3</sup> *Southern Literary Journal*, I (September, 1835), 58; *Southern Literary Messenger*, III (September, 1836), 72 ff., 77.

<sup>4</sup> Cited by John D. Wade, *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, a Study of the Development of Culture in the South* (The Macmillan Company, 1924), 330.

# The Civil War and Intellectual Life

*Weeping, sad and lonely,  
Hopes and fears, how vain;  
Yet praying  
When this cruel war is over,  
Praying that we meet again.  
—When this Cruel War is Over, 1863*

*And let the hands that ply the pen  
Quit the light task, and learn to wield  
The horseman's crooked brand, and rein  
The charger on the battle field.  
—BRYANT, Our Country's Call, 1861*

Every aspect of life, including that of the mind, felt the impact of the war which few people, North or South, had believed would be the outcome of the growing tension between the two sections. The issue of bloodshed was accepted dubiously in many quarters on both sides of the Mason and Dixon line, enthusiastically in others. A small minority of the members of the peace societies in the North refused to compromise with their principle of absolute opposition to all war, and a growing number of men and women in both sections, distrustful of their leaders, sympathetic with the enemy, or merely war-weary, preferred compromise or even defeat to the continuation of the struggle. The fact of war affected the thinking not only of these dissidents but of the great



continued the editor of this popular periodical, must inevitably be diverted from the scramble for dollars into nobler and higher aims, and the rising military class itself would be a healthy counterbalance to the dominant and selfish commercial aristocracy.

Almost all the intellectuals of the North shared the view that the war was touching and would increasingly touch the soul of the nation. At Concord the ailing Henry Thoreau felt uplifted at the moral regeneration the upheaval had already brought in its wake. His neighbor, Ralph Waldo Emerson, saw war come "as a frosty October, which shall restore intellectual and moral power to these languid and dissipated populations."<sup>2</sup> Across the Atlantic young Henry Adams, secretary to his father the minister to England, was certain in the summer of 1863 that this generation had been stirred up from the lowest layers. "We cannot be commonplace;" of this, at least, the future skeptic was certain.

By and large, scholars did not fear that the war held any threat to the values dear to them. "If the presence of a free, quickened national existence can elevate the scholarly mind and ennoble its pursuits," remarked a writer in the *North American Review*, "that presence is with us, and its fruits will surely appear." The young scholar, continued this contributor to the venerable Boston review, might be fighting in the trenches of Virginia, or penning words of fire for the press, or speaking in churches and assembly halls; but even in the quiet of his own study he could not be blind or deaf to the surging life of his countrymen. Scholarship had long enough been sterile by reason of its divorce from actuality; and it might well be, concluded this observer, that the war would further the American penchant for allying scholarship and life, thought and action.

Nor was sight lost of the unforgotten ideal of an American literature and science and art. The fact that conservative Europe affected to see in the war the breakdown of republican institutions stirred Henry Wilson, the self-educated cobbler who represented Massachusetts in the Senate, to sponsor the organization of a national academy of science. "I wanted the *savants* of the Old World, as they turn their eyes thitherward," Wilson told the first meeting of the Academy, "to see that amid the fire and blood of the most gigantic civil war in the annals of nations, the statesmen and people of the United States, in the calm confidence of assured power, are fostering the elevating, purifying, and consolidating

<sup>2</sup> Emerson and Forbes (eds.), *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, IX, 494.

When the government at Washington somewhat reluctantly enlisted Negro troops, the former slaves demonstrated their capacity to perform acts of great courage.

Fearing insurrection and sabotage, slaveowners tightened the patrol system and in order to check desertion to the Union lines spread rumors regarding the cruelty of the Yankees. One story graphically described the northern soldiers as devilish beasts capable of throwing women and children into a river or even of roasting their enemies alive. It is impossible, of course, to determine the effect of such propaganda in keeping the slaves on the plantations. In any case the majority of house servants and a large number of field hands did remain loyal to their masters—some with genuine personal devotion, others in the mood of just waiting to see what would happen.

The beginnings of education for the freedman in areas occupied by the Federal armies inaugurated a new era in the intellectual history of the Negro. Philanthropic organizations in the North, such as the American Missionary Association, the Boston Educational Commission, and the United States Commission for the Relief of National Freedmen, established schools for Negroes, equipped classrooms, and sent out teachers. Of the some fifty schools thus set up in Virginia in 1863, many used Negro assistant teachers; one, in fact, employed fifteen in that capacity. Nor was the training of teachers neglected, for in 1863 Congress incorporated in Washington the Institution for the Education of Colored Youth, an outgrowth of a pioneer Negro teacher-training institution founded a decade earlier by Myrtilla Miner. More substantial aid came from Congress in the last weeks of the war with the establishment of the Bureau of Freedmen, a federal agency authorized, among other things, to supplement the private and voluntary educational enterprises for freedmen.

If southern whites saw in the beginnings of Negro education under Yankee auspices a threat to their own ideas of cultural hegemony, some were impelled by war needs to bestir themselves intellectually and even to imagine in the exhilaration of activity that a new chapter in their own intellectual life was under way. The South's most gifted scientist, Matthew Fontaine Maury, returned from his long residence in Washington and undertook experiments in Richmond designed to perfect the submarine electrical torpedo. Wits were sharpened and all available ingenuity was brought to the fore by the necessity of providing substi-

South Carolina and the University of Georgia, undertook to provide powder and drugs for the army. Although several colleges remained open in the first years of the war, almost all ceased even to ring the bell long before Appomattox. The slender resources of endowed institutions were quickly dried up, and state universities, with the exception of Virginia, were left without support. Jefferson's foundation remained nominally open, though with little life. In Professor Maximilian Schele de Vere Virginia possessed an exceptional scholar; in spite of everything he found time, between drilling the handful of his colleagues and students, to continue his pioneer studies in comparative philology.

Newspapers and periodicals suffered as well as educational institutions. The scarcity of paper, ink, and type, the difficulties of communication, and the high costs of postage all militated against the maintenance of a periodical press. Issues of once prosperous newspapers appeared on half-sheets, on mere slips of paper, and increasingly on wallpaper. A few of the well-established periodicals, such as the *Southern Presbyterian Review* and the *Southern Cultivator*, survived the war in depleted form. But *De Bow's Review* was suspended in 1862, and the leading magazine of antebellum days, *The Southern Literary Messenger*, closed its office in 1864. A few new enterprises were launched only to fail. Of these the *Magnolia* and the *Southern Illustrated News* published verse and stories by the South's leading writers; the latter was distinguished for the woodcuts by W. L. Sheppard and the portraits and sketches of Confederate generals. *Southern Punch*, with its army jokes and bitter satires on Richmond profiteers, was less successful than another new venture, the *Record*. Ably edited and neatly printed, it was valued for the competent weekly editorials by John R. Thompson and the admirable summaries of the news of the world.

Depleted though the newspapers and magazines were in many respects, they carried on with little interference from government authorities and with the loyal support of men and women of literary inclinations. The mass of narrative and lyric verse, much of which was in crude vernacular, included some pieces of merit and distinction. Dr. Francis O. Ticknor's "Little Giffen of Tennessee" is a memorable and moving tribute to the heroism of a son of the soil; Father Ryan's "The Conquered Banner" and Albert Pike's version of "Dixie" are patriotic verses of much merit; and such humorous verses as John R. Thompson's "On to Richmond" rank high among their kind. But all these were transcended by the war

front. By and large, public education did not greatly suffer as a result of the war.

Nor were colleges destroyed and depleted as they were in the South. It is true that attendance declined in some measure on almost every campus and that in many smaller institutions in the West the great majority of undergraduates deserted Minerva for Mars. But buildings were not destroyed, and classes everywhere continued to be held. College histories record only an occasional faculty member who, like Joshua L. Chamberlain of Bowdoin, entered the army. Memorials for fallen classmates and patriotic celebrations, together with military drill, were in evidence, but college life was in no sense materially altered. Indeed, higher education expanded during the war years in an impressive manner.

Periodicals felt the war currents, and some suffered. *Harper's* and *Godey's Lady's Book* forfeited their large southern constituency. The *Princeton Review*, one of the leading religious quarterlies, lost a considerable portion of its subscribers. But in spite of the rising cost of paper and the tax on advertising, the ability of most magazine readers to buy periodicals was not seriously or widely impaired. In contrast with the southern press, newspapers enjoyed an immense boom.

In some respects scientific studies went by the board. Not only did the geological surveys in the seceding states come to an abrupt end; even in the North several legislatures failed to make the necessary appropriations. Professional science was the loser from the suspension of the annual meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The membership of this organization, which had run upwards of a thousand at the outbreak of the war, was considerably under half that number in 1865. At least some scientists of talent curtailed basic researches to meet the exigencies of the war situation. Oliver Wolcott Gibbs, who had introduced into America the German method of laboratory research in chemical instruction, did not, it is true, drop his important researches on platinum metals; these contributed to his clarification of vaguely held notions about atomicities or valences. But this eminent scientist gave generously of his time to the government, now advising on matters of tariff and scientific instruments and on other occasions putting his vast knowledge at the service of the Sanitary Commission. Dr. Joseph Leidy, the foremost paleontologist and anatomist of his time, put by his researches to become surgeon in an army hospital, but even there he put to good account the autopsies he performed. Still

continued to publish literature and to hold forth on the lecture platform, but the gains they had made in obtaining state prohibition were lost as a result of the clamor for revenues from the taxation of liquors. Woman's rights conventions were suspended so that leaders of the movement might give all their time to war pursuits. They circulated petitions for the emancipation of the slave, they threw their strength into relief work, they supported Lincoln in the critical campaign of 1864. They assumed that, once the war was over, such services would be rewarded by the concession of the suffrage. Moreover, they found an additional reason for expecting this long-desired boon in the declaration that the war was waged for the fulfillment of the traditional ideal of government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

But if the movement for woman's rights was temporarily suspended by the war, the general position of women greatly improved. Everywhere—on farms, in shops, in schoolrooms, in hospitals, in industry—their services were called for and their competency demonstrated. "Listless young girls and fancied invalids rose from their sofas, at first to wind bandages and pack supplies," wrote a chronicler, ". . . later to do the household work, which there were no servants to perform, or to earn their living in unaccustomed occupations that there were no men to undertake."<sup>4</sup>

### Continued Growth of the Agencies of Intellectual Life

The war did have some immediate adverse effects on the life of the mind. Whether it had any direct favorable effect in stimulating intellectual activity is a question impossible to answer with any confidence. Striking developments, especially in the expansion of equipment and facilities for intellectual activity, took place in the North during the actual struggle, but these were for the most part already under way and might have occurred, or been even more striking, had there been no war. Indirectly the war was one factor in the expansion of facilities, in that it brought great profits to some men who supported education and thus stimulated philanthropy in the field of intellectual endeavors. It is possible that the patriotism and idealism aroused by it may well have had

<sup>4</sup> Amy L. Reed, "Female Delicacy in the Sixties," *Century Magazine*, LXVIII (October, 1916), 863.

officers took so broad an educational view of his needs as did General John M. Palmer, who believed that it was possible and desirable to associate military service with intellectual, moral, and religious growth, many recognized that proper reading matter promoted discipline and morale. The Christian Commission, which sprang from a meeting of YMCA. delegates early in the war, established reading rooms and libraries in camps and hospitals. It appealed for "good reading matter" as a "valuable hygienic appliance." The books and reading materials distributed by the Commission were on the whole of a religious and moral character. In 1864, for instance, it put into the hands of soldiers and sailors almost 6 million "knapsack books" like Newman Hall's *Come to Jesus*, almost one million hymnbooks and psalmbooks, over a million Bibles and Testaments, and 11 million tracts with more than 36 million pages. Yet an appeal for gifts urged the importance of lively, interesting books, pictorial weekly and monthly periodicals, and works on art, science, and literature. One of the printed catalogues of 125 books included *Bryant's Selections from American Poets*, *Halleck's Selections from British Poets*, *Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare*, the *Lady of the Lake* and *Ivanhoe*, *Paradise Lost*, Irving's *Sketch Book* and *Columbus*, Creasy's *Decisive Battles*, and well-known titles on geography, travel, and science. Manuals of drill and tactics were eagerly desired by men ambitious for promotion; and newspapers were specially sought for. There is even evidence that *Godey's Lady's Book* found many readers in the army!

According to the testimony of the "delegates" or workers in the Christian Commission, the soldiers repeatedly asked for reading material, and chaplains frequently spoke of the same desire. "Go into a tent," wrote one delegate, "and almost the first question is, 'Chaplain, can you give us anything to read?' And the Christian Commission's slices and crumbs from the bread of life," concluded this pious soul, "seem sweeter to them than any luxuries or delicacies."<sup>3</sup> In any case, soldiers not only eagerly sought for reading material, but sometimes edited newspapers of their own, wrote verse, and conducted debates.

The extension of facilities for adult education was accompanied by continued support for elementary public education. The frontier states of Minnesota and Nevada set up school systems during the war. In spite

<sup>3</sup> The Reverend Horatio Q. Butterfield, *United States Christian Commission, A Delegate's Story* (n.p., 1863), 4-5.

Morrill Act also reflected the democratic and nationalistic principles for which the armies of the North and West were contending. The type of education visioned in it promised not only to be useful to the economic life on which the Union was based, but to help cement East and West in the common interests now uniting them. The agricultural and industrial education thus to be supported by the federal government also offered poorer boys greater opportunities, helped to equalize educational advantages in disparate regions of the country, and narrowed the gulf between academic and practical pursuits, in other words, between thought and action. The grant to the loyal states of an endowment of \$10 million thus laid the foundation for a momentous expansion of a new type of higher education at government expense.

### Scholarship in War Time

If the agencies of intellectual life were little hampered in their growth by the war exigency, the crisis, directly or indirectly, did militate in some respects against the intellectual life. Zeal for obtaining revenue and general enthusiasm for the principle of protective tariffs accounted for the failure of Charles Sumner's efforts to defeat the proposal for a tax on books; his colleagues in Congress turned deaf ears toward his plea that such a tax was a tax on knowledge comparable to a tax on the light of day, and that by refusing to embark on such a course at such a crisis the nation might do itself great honor. Nor was Sumner any more successful in his effort to capitalize on the national enthusiasm evoked by the war by obtaining national academies for the promotion of art, literature, and moral and political science to take their places alongside of the newly established National Academy of Science. Too many strict constructionists and devotees of local rights feared that national power was already, in consequence of the war, expanding overrapidly. Some also suspected that such national academies might prove to be exclusive, aristocratic, and dictatorial; many plain people had no desire to set up institutions that might attempt in some fashion to tell the ordinary man what pictures to prefer, what books to venerate, what ideas to entertain.

Almost all the leading men of light and learning exemplified ardent patriotism. It was an exceptional figure in the intellectual world who, like Samuel F. B. Morse or President Lord of Dartmouth, distrusted the

him as a great logician by reason of his pioneer conception that even the most abstract logic rests on ethical and social theories.

What was true of the Smithsonian and the Coast Survey was true also of such scientific foundations as the American Philosophical Society, the American Academy of Sciences, and the museums of natural history; their publications during the war years show that the interests of the prewar period continued to yield new fruits in ethnology, mathematics, and the physical sciences. Similarly a survey of the *Annual of Scientific Discovery* reveals that European advances in the various fields were duly received in America and that publications at home maintained the level of those that preceded the crisis.

This does not mean that the war had no effect at all in presenting scientists with problems. On the contrary, the *American Journal of Science* published papers on explosive forces in gunpowders; the National Academy of Sciences investigated for the Surgeon General methods of testing the purity of whiskey, of medical importance in the war, and pursued ad hoc researches in the fields of counterfeit coins, weights and measures, and ballistics. The list of patent inventions suggests that impetus was given by the war to work in magnetoelectric lights for signaling as well as in ballistics. The American Medical Association devoted in its annual meetings sections to military hygiene. Surgeon General William Hammond, before a crisis in his relations with the Secretary of War removed him from office by court-martial, published a pioneer treatise on military hygiene. But by and large the war did little to divert scientific investigation from paths already marked. It may possibly have postponed the discussion of Darwinism, but it was merely a postponement.

The publications issued during the war years indicate that scholars in linguistics went about their work much as usual. Classical studies were augmented by the publication of Greek and Latin texts and grammars. Of these, one of the most important was William Goodwin's second edition of his *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*. Even more than in the first edition (1860) Goodwin, Eliot professor of Greek at Harvard, rejected metaphysical German concepts of Greek syntax and advanced knowledge of the field through his own power of classification and insight into meanings. The last year of the war also saw the publication of Francis A. March's *Method of Philological Study of the English*



*torical View of the American Revolution*; Parton brought out his *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*; Henry B. Dawson's edition of *The Federalist* and a reprinting of Elliot's debates on the Constitution also reflected a heightened interest in the nation's birth. Nor was the Civil War itself neglected. Frank Moore and Edward McPherson compiled, during the struggle and the years thereafter, important collections of documentary material relating to the war.

Interest in the past, well launched before Appomattox, transcended concern with the nation's great crises. New historical societies were founded at Dover, Brooklyn, New Haven, and Buffalo. There were scholars who had begun long-term investigations who did not falter in their labors; Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World* appeared in 1865. John G. Palfrey brought out a new volume of the *History of New England*, characterized by general accuracy of details but also by a pronounced bias for Massachusetts and the clergy. In the parsonage at Albany William B. Sprague completed the seventh volume of his useful *Annals of the American Pulpit*. Even in the midst of a great contest of arms there could appear a notable study of the role of ideas in the development of civilization. Professor John W. Draper, the distinguished chemist of New York University, published in 1863 his frequently inaccurate and uncritical but much-translated and highly influential *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*. The *North American Review* praised this volume as one of the "most truly original, profound and instructive contributions of the age." No doubt it did blaze a trail for many essentially modern ideas of the interrelations between climate and social institutions. Draper subscribed to the Lamarckian doctrine of the inheritance of acquired characteristics and to the Comtean idea of history as an exact science. His entire book was marked by faith in science as opposed to supernaturalism, in ideas and laws in contradistinction to mere chance and physical force.

In the related field of the social sciences the war years saw the appearance of several studies of note. Professor Draper did not confine his attention to physical science and to the intellectual history of Europe. Convinced that the Republic had reached "one of those epochs at which it must experience important transformations," he undertook, in lectures given at the New York Historical Society in 1864 and in the book which grew out of them, *Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of the United States* (1865), to apply specifically to the United States his theory that

monopoly of southern markets. Spooner argued that the capitalists meant "to plunder and enslave" laborers in the North as well as in the South.

Charles Loring Brace's significant study in ethnology, *The Races of the Old World* (1863), was in some sense a war product. Brace, a pioneer in the development of social service in New York City, had been a close student of racial theories long before Sumter. But he was led to prepare a synthesis of the best available works in this field as a result of his distress at the evidences of prejudice against the Negro which the draft riots in New York displayed, and in order to redeem American scholarship in European eyes by offsetting the "perverted argument for the oppression of the Negro" which southern racialists had publicized. Brace spared no pains in striking a scholarly blow at the "narrow prejudices and false theories in regard to Race ideas which have been at the base of ancient abuses and long-established institutions of oppression."<sup>6</sup> In refuting the prosouthern ethnological doctrine of the separate origin of races he depended in considerable part on linguistic evidence. Under the influence of Darwin's theory of natural selection he maintained that biology also pointed in the direction of unified origin. Disregarding the scruples of religious orthodoxy Brace insisted that the human race had existed "hundreds of thousands of years before any of the received dates of the Creation" and cited archeological evidence, including specimens of fossilized man, in support of his thesis. Thus in the midst of war an American scholar and humanitarian presented a pioneer study of races.

### The War and Belles-Lettres

The time-honored conviction that there could be no great literature until there was a nation aroused hopes in the breasts of intellectuals that with the triumph of nationality a glorious and immortal literature would emerge. Intellectual patriots admitted that the trials of the war were great, the evil that accompanied it considerable. But they maintained that "a great believing people" would rise above the demoralized conduct exemplified by tainted traffic with the enemy and corrupt profiteering. "When," prophesied the author of a striking essay entitled "War and Literature," the varieties of the "popular life begin to coalesce, as all

<sup>6</sup> Charles L. Brace, *The Races of the Old World: A Manual of Ethnology* (New York, 1863).

generally exerted cataclysmic effects on the mind, found evidences that the recent contest would be no exception. Speaking to a Yale audience on the nation's obligation to its dead, the Reverend Horace Bushnell declared that the huge flood tide that had lifted American nationality had, in a little more than a short day, released and stimulated loftier ranges of thought. He even foresaw a new and mighty literature, not English in spirit but American, a literature comparable to that which had followed the wars of Elizabeth, Anne, and Napoleon. Walt Whitman, dismissed from a minor federal office for the alleged immorality of his poems, expressed in *Democratic Vistas* in movingly beautiful language the profound conviction that the war, by welding together the nation and lifting it to new spiritual heights, had set the stage for the long-hoped-for glories in American art, letters, and thought. But Whitman's realistic insight also enabled him to detect signs that it had heightened materialism and corruption, that democracy was on trial, that the promise of American life was yet to be fought for and won. Carl Schurz, the "forty-eighter" who had done much to save the Union through both political and military means, more than a quarter of a century after the war asked the question: "Is it really true that our war turned the ambitions of our people into the channels of lofty enthusiasm and aspirations and devotion to high ideals? Has it not rather left behind it an era of absorbing greed of wealth, a marked decline of ideal aspirations . . . ?"<sup>8</sup>

On a more popular literary level the songs of the people reveal not only the feelings of the common man but crystallized sentiments of home and loved ones which transcend the immediacy of the battle itself. "Maryland, My Maryland," has become a permanent song of Americans, and Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," with its rich Biblical imagery and spirited measures, has endured and no doubt will continue to endure. Such songs as "Dixie," "Tenting Tonight on the Old Camp Ground," "Just before the Battle, Mother," "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching," and "John Brown's Body" achieved the status of folk songs. The most widely sung song north and south, "When This Cruel War Is Over," expressed the love of home and peace among the soldiers of both sides.

Humorous stories as well as songs helped relieve the tension and hardships which the war thrust on civilians as well as on the men in the field.

<sup>8</sup> Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* (The McClure Co., 1908), III, 135-136.

mercial and cultural, with the South. The draft was resisted, even to the point of bloody riot in New York City, and the Knights of the Golden Circle did much to increase opposition to the war and the demand for an immediate armistice on any terms. But the majority of the plain people, together with virtually all the intellectual leaders, remained steadfast in their loyalty to the Union. To them it symbolized democracy, that is, a good life for everybody, one destined to become ever richer, ever more completely realized. This faith fed the fires of patriotism, and they burned brightly in spite of the damp chill of defeatism. Associated with this democratic faith and patriotism was the social philosophy of business enterprise. The victory at Appomattox was a victory for all these related but not entirely consistent articles in the northern creed. No one knew, when Lincoln's death hushed the nation, how these conflicts would be resolved, or even whether they would be resolved at all. But for the moment other things ruled men's minds.

The war did not disrupt the basic economic life of the North, as it did that of the South. The armed contest even quickened the pace of development in the North. Thus many intellectual agencies, such as schools and colleges, expanded with an expanding economic life.

But the war, which in some respects was merely an incident in the development of the nation's life, did affect intellectual perspectives in vital ways. It put to rest, once and for all, the ghost of states' rights and secession which had haunted Hamilton and Webster and Clay. It testified to the success of the principle of national unity. It cleared the way for an extension of democracy—the black man at least was no longer a chattel slave, and the path was opened for his participation in the life of the mind on a level higher than superstition. The war also pushed aside the hindrances—notably a plantation aristocracy—that had checked the free flow of business enterprise, and thus the stage was set for new triumphs of capitalism and of the ideas and cultural agencies functional to it, South as well as North. At the same time the war posed new problems for democracy, problems of the status and role of the common man in a society that was more homogeneous and yet, paradoxically, more stratified. All this meant that in spite of the continuity with the past a *nation* had emerged, with new problems, new issues, new ideas; these were to influence profoundly the growth of the American mind.

The first five decades of the nineteenth century had witnessed heated debates on the nature of the union established by the Constitution; that authority had been appealed to again and again by competing interests in search of legal justifications for desired courses of action. The appeal to arms and the victory of the North did not end the discussions concerning the nature of the American nation. It is true that even the most ardent apologists for the Lost Cause did not deny that, regardless of the past, the nation was henceforth superior to the states. But the persistent question of the boundary between federal and state powers continued to occasion much debate. So did the relation of the sections and of minority peoples to the nation.

The highest authority on such matters spoke in the case *Texas v. White* (1869). In this important decision the Supreme Court maintained that the acts constituting the Rebellion had been unlawful deeds of usurpers and not the acts of states, inasmuch as the political system of the United States was an "indestructible union of indestructible states." According to the Court, the "union of the States was never a purely artificial and arbitrary relation. . . . It began among the Colonies and grew out of a common origin, mutual sympathies, kindred principles, similar interests, and geographical relations."<sup>1</sup>

This general conception of the nature of the nation was now elaborated in a series of philosophical formulations. Most of the writers paid relatively little attention to the legalistic arguments which had characterized the writings of such early nationalists as Webster, Kent, and Story. The prewar idea that the nation was the result of a contract by which the states had ceded their sovereignty to the new Union was largely replaced by the doctrine that the nation was the product of a gradual, evolutionary growth. In consequence it was a true organism with sovereignty resting in the nation at large. One of these writers, Elisha Mulford, an Episcopal minister, interpreted American national theory in terms of Hegelian philosophy. All emphasized the doctrine of the historic mission of the American nation in modern civilization.

Of all the theoretical writers on nationalistic doctrine none was more original or more influential than Francis Lieber whose writings, which had begun to appear before the Civil War, marked the transition from the earlier contract theory to the newer one of organic growth. His interest in nationalism as an historic phenomenon made his work especially

<sup>1</sup> 7 Wall 700 (1869).

the southern white theory of Negro inferiority. In any case the legend of the Lost Cause nourished thoughts and feelings that did not square with the new doctrine of an organic nation.

Nor did Easterners and Westerners see eye to eye with each other. The West was hardly less self-conscious than it had been during the early decades of the century. Western leaders insisted that the West had been chiefly responsible for winning the war and that henceforth, instead of being treated as a stepchild, it must take the principal place at the family board. The common assumption on the part of many eastern intellectuals that the seaboard was the fountain of intelligence and genius, of all that was really significant in American thought, was indignantly repudiated by western editors, clergymen, physicians, and politicians. Western partisans insisted that their section not only possessed great cultural possibilities but even at the moment enjoyed the only distinctively American culture. Easterners with a missionary bent continued to send teachers and preachers to "civilize" that land of reputed darkness, but at least some Westerners resented such activities; western religion, western morals, even western education, it was argued, excelled eastern counterparts in all the really essential things. But even these regional patriots had to admit that the remaining frontiers had to be won from the Indians and integrated into national life and thought.

Whatever the strength of sectional pride, the bonds of union were growing stronger. New social and economic ties did much to soften antagonisms between East and West and between North and South. The expansion of industrial and finance capitalism from the East into both South and West forged a new and tightly knit web of interests. Both business and labor tended to assume the pattern of national organization. Machine-made products continued with increasing tempo to create similar tastes and habits all over the land. The problems arising from the expansion and integration of business inevitably became issues for discussion on a nationwide scale. Economic developments occasioned the expansion of the activities of the Departments of Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce; federal administrative agencies multiplied the contacts between citizens of the several states and sections. By the 1860s the transcontinental railroad was a visible band of steel across the country, and railways uniting South and North provided a material basis for reconciliation. Added to all this was the fact that the railroads facilitated the dissolution of prejudices and the growth of common ideas by

Hundreds of thousands from all sections visited the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 and took pride in the nation's past and in the prospects for an even more glorious national future. It took such concrete demonstrations as the Exposition to awaken in the minds of the plain people a heightened sense of national pride. Some Americans who visited it were startled to find their country far behind European lands in artistic achievement, but their hearts swelled with satisfaction at the evidences of material prosperity and mechanical genius that none could deny. The vast crowds from all parts of the land experienced at Philadelphia a new and nobler comprehension of the American past and of the purpose and design of the government which had endured in spite of stupendous obstacles, and they caught a vision of even vaster future triumphs in invention, industry, labor, science, and the arts.

### The Negro in the Intellectual Life of the Nation

Ethnic as well as regional differences testified to the fact that in spite of all the theories of American nationalism, the general recognition that everyone was as much an American as anyone else could not be said to exist. For one thing, emancipation pushed to the fore the old and stubborn problem of the Negro's place in the national life. That the great majority of Northerners looked on the colored people as inferior and incapable of ever becoming the equal of whites may be fairly inferred from the fact that Negroes continued during the postwar years to suffer from legal, political, and educational disabilities in almost every northern community in which any sizable number of them were congregated. No doubt the views of Samuel F. B. Morse, who took it for granted that the Negro was innately inferior both physically and mentally, more or less expressed the ideas of most plain people and most conservative leaders.

Only the radical abolitionists who followed Stevens, Sumner, and Wade believed that Negro inferiority could be explained by the ignorance and docility to which slavery had condemned the colored race. These men and women argued for political and civil rights for the freedmen. These rights were deemed necessary both to insure them from being reduced by their former masters to serfdom and to provide them with a political education to supplement the schooling which humanitarian

and organize knowledge. When President Johnson in 1866 told a delegation of colored people that any further concessions to the race in the South would merely increase the poor white's antagonism, Frederick Douglass, the leader of his race, observed that the master class had won its supremacy over both poor whites and blacks by planting enmity between them, by dividing to conquer.

The plantation class tempered its attitude toward docile and faithful Negroes by a kindly paternalism, but it still regarded the black people as innately inferior. So bitter was the old aristocracy in its determination to keep the blacks in subjection, to check their "uppity" behavior and their zeal for education, that Yankee teachers and other humanitarians who devoted themselves to improving the lot of the freedmen found themselves socially ostracized, if indeed they were lucky enough to escape a worse fate at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan. The vicissitudes of the northern friend of the Negro in the post-Civil War South are memorably pictured in the dramatic if somewhat overdrawn novel by Albion Tourgée, *A Fool's Errand*. The Southerners themselves continued to justify white supremacy with the old arguments they had used to defend slavery. Thus it was not strange that the Negro, once federal troops were withdrawn from the South in 1877, was permitted to vote only when his vote could be skillfully used by one group of whites in political contests; when he threatened to become a political force he was disenfranchised. Even during the period of radical Reconstruction Negro officials frequently accepted social inferiority, and gradually segregation or "Jim Crowism" became the accepted practice. The sharecropper system, which had begun even before the Civil War, increasingly became the means by which the Negro was held in economic control. Southern writers of the local-color school—Thomas Nelson Page, Joel Chandler Harris, and others—subscribed to the concept of white superiority; George Cable was the notable exception.

It is not mere guesswork to infer what the Negro thought about himself and his relations to other social groups during Reconstruction itself. Many loyal and devoted servants avoided any overt behavior that could be interpreted as a desire for equality, and many more from force of habit probably never seriously thought of themselves as equal in ability to the whites. But a good many sang with at least half-serious intent

De bottom rail's on de top  
An we's gwine to keep it dar.



gradually won over to the cause of vocational schooling for the colored people. At Hampton Roads in Virginia northern philanthropic effort had developed a pattern of Negro vocational education. In 1881 a small group of Negroes in Tuskegee, Alabama, invited General Armstrong of Hampton Institute to send a graduate to begin a vocational school in their community. The young man chosen was Booker T. Washington, who not only built up a highly successful institution but became the leader of his race. Washington urged the colored people to abandon, at least for the time, any claims to equal treatment with the whites; to look up to the substantial southern whites as friends; and through the cultivation of practical skills in trade and agriculture to make themselves economically self-sufficient and indispensable to the prosperity of the white South.

While the Negroes tended to accept Washington's leadership and philosophy, outward deference to the ruling race did not keep them from entertaining privately their own ideas about white superiority:

Niggers plant de cotton,  
Niggers pick it out  
White man pocket money,  
Nigger goes without.

Missus in de big manse  
Mammy in de yard  
Missus holding her white hands  
Mammy workin' hard.  
White man in starched shirt setten in de shade  
Laziest man God ever made.

Such songs no doubt expressed the real feelings of many who sang them. In contacts with the white world, however, most Negroes found it expedient to appear to accept the idea of the superiority of the white race.

### The Immigrant in the Intellectual Life of the Nation

The immediate problems of the Civil War for the time laid to rest the nativist ideology. Indeed, the immigrant, being needed in factory and field during the conflict between the states, had actually been encouraged

environmentalist position, concluded that, while the incoming stream brought mental as well as physical peculiarities, the general conditions of life and the historic principles of the Republic would serve as a powerful amalgam. Nevertheless, he thought it quite probable that the presence of so many immigrants affected the whole community by making its ideas less settled, its intentions less precise.

The growing recognition that America lacked ethnic unity paved the way for the growth of a compensatory doctrine of an intense integral "psychological" nationalism, differing markedly from the traditionally humanitarian nationalism of the Enlightenment. Moreover, disturbances within American society played an important role in the conversion of "Anglo-Saxonism," originally a liberal faith in English parliamentary and democratic institutions, into the powerful racist philosophy it became in the 1890s and early 1900s. Partly searching for a new nationalistic faith in America's ability to rise above her new problems, and partly expressing a nostalgic longing for bygone days of aristocratic cultural superiority, such figures as Henry Cabot Lodge, Francis A. Walker, John W. Burgess, Nathaniel S. Shaler, and to a lesser extent Theodore Roosevelt spread a doctrine of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority and shouted warnings of "race mongrelization" from immigration. Clothing their racial theories with the new-found authority of science, the proponents of Anglo-Saxon superiority alleged that southern European "races" were biologically inferior. They argued that the influx of these peoples would ruin institutional stability and lower the rate of cultural achievement. Besides directing itself against further immigration, the doctrine of Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic superiority also contributed to the frantic extension of the Jim Crow system in the South in the 1890s and to the popularity of the notion of the "white man's burden" as a rationale for imperialist expansion.

The effect of immigration on the American mind was the subject of much speculation. That the great mass of newcomers represented the less-educated European social strata led men like E. L. Godkin of *The Nation* to see in immigration a challenge to education. Godkin believed that only energetic and wise educational measures on a mass scale could keep the immigrants from becoming tools with which unscrupulous politicians might undermine the foundations of the Republic.

It was apparent that the rapid growth of Catholicism through immigration was introducing a new and strange element into American

The vigorous cultural life maintained by various immigrant groups is well exemplified by the Norwegian-Americans. Strongly nationalistic and Lutheran, many Norwegian communities maintained their own parochial schools and established denominational colleges. They welcomed leaders from the motherland unless they were, like Björnson, religiously unorthodox. The Norwegian press published newspapers, magazines, religious books, and the fiction that Norwegian-Americans began to write. An interest in Norwegian-American history also developed.

Prejudice against immigrants was natural during the slow process of acculturation. But the fact that the interests of many old-time Americans were jeopardized or seemed to be jeopardized by the presence of the newcomers heightened prejudice. In the minds of both the leaders of organized labor and the rank and file the ever-increasing immigrant hordes checked the advance of the trade union movement, glutted the labor market, and depressed the living standards of the native worker. The mind of business was divided on the immigrant. The traditional position favored unrestricted immigration in the interest of cheap labor and the open shop. Once the vast railroad net was substantially completed and the main industrial plants were established, the cry for cheap labor was less frequently heard; the advance of the machine diminished the need for hands. An important factor in the growing distaste that certain business leaders felt for immigration was the fear that the immigrants were the main source of socialistic and anarchistic doctrines. "The ranks of anarchy and riots," declared Chauncey Depew in 1892, "number no Americans. The leaders boldly proclaim that they come here not to enjoy the blessings of our liberty and to sustain our institutions but to destroy our government, cut our throats, and divide our property."<sup>3</sup> This sentiment, though resting on flimsy foundations, was widely held. The increase of crime in the swiftly growing cities was also commonly attributed to the presence of the immigrants.

If the great bulk of the newcomers were ignorant of book learning, the knowledge of many among them enriched American intellectual life. Perhaps no immigrant group contained so high a proportion of scholars as the Jews. American Biblical scholarship and exegesis are deeply indebted to erudite Jewish masters of obscure tongues. Egyptology owed much to Goetzl Selikovitch; Semitic studies profited vastly from the

<sup>3</sup> John D. Champlin (ed.), *Orations, Addresses and Speeches of Chauncey Depew*, 10 vols. (Austin and Lipscomb, 1910), III. 264-273.

of oppression's yoke and of the blessings of freedom, and still others instilled loyalty to a somewhat idealized America. Native-born Americans by long familiarity with the rich blessings of their own land tended to grow forgetful of their high blessings and of America's meaning to the world's oppressed and underprivileged, but immigrants revitalized American social idealism for many "old Americans." Not only articulate foreigners, such as the Rumanian Jew, M. E. Ravage, but countless sweaty, smelly, and bundle-carrying immigrants did their part in confirming the American faith in the common man, in the right of equality of opportunity for everyone, in the toleration of creeds and opinions, and in the ideal of a cosmopolitan sympathy for weaker nations and peoples.

### The Indian in American Thought

No one Indian, certainly none among the small minority able to express their ideas to the white men, represented the thought of the Indian peoples adequately; the scattered tribes of the western plains and mountains and deserts presented a wide variety of cultures. But the message which Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé sent to his conqueror when he was forced to surrender after a desperate flight over 1300 miles of incredibly mountainous terrain represented an idea that was coming to be increasingly held by the Indians of the last West. Chief Joseph realized that the fight against the invading white man was a hopeless one:

I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are all killed. Looking Glass is dead. Too-hul-hul-sote is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who has led on the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets, no food. The little children are freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me! My chiefs, I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more, forever.

When the Indians at last surrendered and the buffalo were gone, the hearts of the Indian people, in the words of another chief, Plenty-Coups, fell to the ground, and they could not lift them again. Without the bison on his hunting ground the strange emptiness of the plains mocked

trary power." But a group of humanitarians—Bishop Whipple of Minnesota, the Quaker Smiley brothers of Lake Mohonk, New York, Herbert Welsh of Philadelphia, and above all Helen Hunt Jackson—turned their attention toward improving the lot of the red man. As a result of much publicity and pressure the government took steps toward providing individual Indians on the reservations to which tribes had been assigned with separate pieces of land, in order to develop a sense of responsibility and to prepare them for citizenship through education in day and boarding schools. The Indian Rights Association exposed abuses in Indian administration and tried to teach the public to regard the Indian not as a cruel savage but as a mistreated primitive capable of taking on the attributes of the white man's civilization. After 1873, when the government assumed the primary responsibility for the education of the Indian, considerable progress was made in teaching him the ways of white civilization. Only as his way of life altered did the Indian begin gradually, in certain tribes, to become acclimated to the white man's ideas.

Meanwhile white scholars patiently studied Indian folklore, myths, arts, and religious rites. Pioneer ethnologists, such as Bandelier, gradually revealed the main outlines and many of the details of primitive American cultures. Students of the American Indian thus acquired a new understanding of the fatalism of the red man, of his passivity before physical nature, of his devotion to communal rather than to individual values, and of his imaginative poetry and richly symbolical decorative arts. Although some of this knowledge found expression in popular literature, the mass of Americans continued to think of the Indian as the demon of the dime novels and the depraved creature of frontier tradition.

### The Impact of the Last Frontiers on Thought and Feeling

On the vast prairies, mountains, and deserts that stretched from the frontier states of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Kansas to the Pacific coast, the years between the firing on Fort Sumter and the celebration of the Centennial saw feverish activity. This period also saw the development of another chapter in the history of the scientist's interest in the West, together with the appearance of a new type of glamorous western literature. There were also, in a subordinate place to be sure, interesting intellectual developments.

operating as it did within the framework of the existing economic order, implied no fundamental change. Nor, for that matter, did the demand of Greenbackers and Grangers for an expansion of the currency; debtor classes in the older sections had traditionally clamored for similar relief from their burdens. Nevertheless, conditions in the prairie West gave old ideas wide publicity. Thus new legislation limiting the private enterprise and profits of railways extended the area of state concern with general well-being.

The ideas of immigrant prairie farmers were similarly akin to those common in the old countries. The Scandinavian communities clung to most of the pietistic, paternalistic, tight attitudes that characterized farmer and parson alike in the homelands. If these people yearned for the beautiful fjords of Norway and for the pleasant rural communities of Sweden and Denmark, they also took pride in the soil and in the promise of the new land. The conflict between those who longed for the old home and those who doggedly clung to their hopes for the new land was not the only one springing up in the immigrant communities; cleavages in outlook often developed between first and second generation immigrants.

In the farmhouses of the older American stock the struggle to make a living often precluded much attention to intellectual life even when there was some precedent for it in a particular family. Yet when there was such a precedent, or when some member of the household had leanings toward the life of books, a boy or girl with zeal and talent was frequently encouraged to take advantage of the opportunities offered in the academies or high schools of towns nearby, or even those offered by the young state universities in Minneapolis, Iowa City, Lincoln, and Lawrence. And if most farm households had no reading matter beyond the Bible, the local newspaper, and the patent-medicine almanac with its medley of fact and fancy, some possessed miscellaneous volumes brought in the covered wagon from the old home. Perhaps it might be a *Waverly* Novel, or Porter's *Scottish Chiefs*, or Headley's *Lives of the Presidents*, or merely two or three McGuffey readers with their excerpts from the accepted writers. Some farmsteads cherished a goodly shelf of books that included many of the classics of English and American literature. An exceptional farmer pored over some lawbooks and used to advantage what he gleaned from them in the farmers' fight against railroad or cattlemen's encroachments. Another exceptional farmer, like Old Jules,

mining camps, given over as they were to material ends, direct action, and boisterous recreations, exhibited in most respects the very antithesis of the conventional moral and intellectual values of the older regions. At the start there was no law, and subsequently lawlessness persisted because the laws imported from the settled areas were ill designed for the peculiar conditions of high plains and mountains. And here, as on the prairie frontier of Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, the life of action bred suspicion of contemplativeness and critical-mindedness. The ideal was a society of strong individuals, glorying in physical courage, but all more or less conforming to a single type and intolerant of any other. If a man had book learning, he did well as a rule to conceal it.

But even mining camps that sprang up like lush weeds maintained, before fading into ghost towns, a certain interest in ideas. Miners liked theatrical entertainments, and for their gold these were forthcoming. Ephemeral and struggling newspapers purveyed, as Mark Twain's *Roughing It* narrates, the doings of the vigilantes, the school committee, and the territorial legislature, as well as the homespun humor and philosophy of the camp. The showy dissipation, the reckless excitement, the brutality and animal spirits of the mining camp were tempered by the occasional recrudescence of the good even in the blackest souls and by a kind of picturesque camaraderie which Bret Harte began to exploit in a new genre of literature. There were at first few women and fewer children, but it was not long before some educational Moses—in Arizona, for example, it was Governor Anson P. K. Safford—laid the crude foundations of public schools. Bold men of the cloth brought Christ's words to barrooms and shanty settlements.

Like the miner, the cattlemen and cowboys followed a way of life that put a premium on action and adventure. Yet out of that way of life sprang folk songs which, imitative though they were of older ballads, reveal some of the yearnings and feelings of the men of the cattle frontier; they remain, furthermore, one of the characteristically American contributions to song. From these rhythmical and reckless songs, quasi-pathetic and quasi-gay, one gathers that the cowboy idealized the home he had turned his back on, his mother and her God, his lost sweetheart. On the other hand, he disparaged the crowded cities and their lawyers, doctors, and merchants. His songs also show that he found compensations in his hand-to-mouth existence and in the lonely freedom that was his lot. For all his admiration of physical courage, even that of the bad

erners and Southerners alike rubbed elbows and occupied themselves chiefly with a new set of problems bearing little relation to the bitter contests in their home sections.

In the bonanza days when everyone bent his energies to get gold, when lawlessness and dissipation and recklessness were little restrained by family, church or state men sang such songs as:

Oh, what was your name in the States?  
Was it Thompson or Johnson or Bates?  
Did you murder your wife  
And fly for your life?  
Say, what was your name in the States?

But even in these days of turmoil San Francisco and Sacramento had some papers, magazines, books, and theaters. Such journals as *The Golden Era* and the *News Letter* compared well with their eastern prototypes. When the *Overland Monthly* was begun in 1868, California possessed in Charles Warren Stoddard, John Muir, Mark Twain, Bret Harte, and presently Joaquin Miller and Henry George, a group of vigorous literary men sensitive to the peculiarities of life in the Far West.

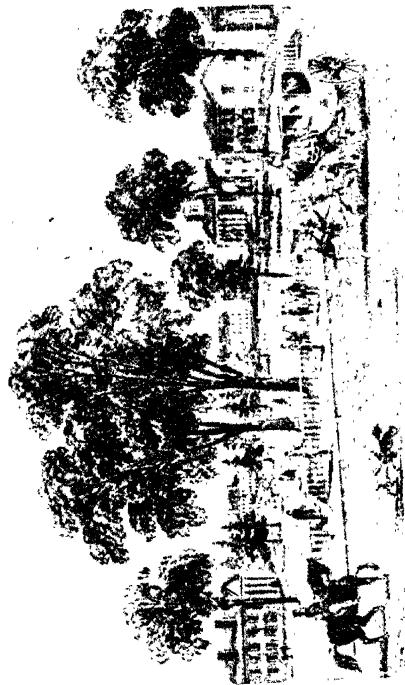
Moreover, there was even some tradition of an intellectual culture in the theater, which from the early days had presented Shakespeare, along with a great variety of less admirable entertainment. The first literary institute was started in San Francisco in 1851, and about the same time mercantile libraries in Sacramento and San Francisco appeared. Thanks to the heroic labors of John Swett, a New Hampshire schoolmaster known as the Horace Mann of California, a public school system was well under way. Other New Englanders, notably Thomas Starr King, the Unitarian minister of San Francisco who had done much during the war to keep California in the Union, had familiarized many of their fellow citizens with the doctrines of Unitarianism and at least the elements of a rich literary culture. The University of California, projected as early as 1850, did not open its doors until 1869, but it then attracted, among other notables, Joseph Le Conte, well known in eastern academic circles for his work in geology. The Catholics boasted several centers of higher studies. Thus the pattern of older eastern culture was transmitted to the western empire.

But the West figured in other ways in the intellectual life of the nation during the two decades from 1860 to 1880. As L. P. Brockett





Upper Left: A Hoe Press, 1846. (*Courtesy, Wisconsin Historical Society.*)



Upper Right: Spiritualism Demonstrated, 1855.

The University of Georgia. An old print.

field the highly significant researches of the Swiss-born Adolph Bandelier towered above all others. Having completed his study of the ancient Mexicans in the late 1870s, Bandelier turned his attention to the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico. Making critical use of original sources, both archeological and historical, he raised the standards of ethnological work and overthrew many accepted myths regarding the Indians of the Southwest. Scientific appreciation of the uniqueness of the West led such men as Bandelier, Muir, Cornelius Hedges, and F. V. Hayden of the Geological Survey to persuade the federal government to set aside the Yosemite and the Yellowstone as national parks. These treasures were thus secured in all their scenic grandeur and scientific significance from ruinous exploitation by private enterprise. On another level Hubert H. Bancroft began his cooperative venture of collecting historical sources for a history of the Far West. He produced his impressive work on the *Native Races of the Pacific States* (1874-1876) in five volumes and his *History of the Pacific States of North America* (1882-1890) in twenty-one volumes.

The scenic beauty and scientific significance of the Far West probably meant little or nothing to the average Easterner. But thanks to the majestic canvases of Bierstadt and the highly colored and vividly realistic sketches of Frederic Remington some part of the grandeur of the West began to capture the imagination of the artistically untrained men and women in towns and villages throughout the land. A still larger number, of course, became conscious of the last frontiers through the legends of Kit Carson and Jesse James and through the Beadle dime novels and their like. These tales, highly melodramatic, highly moral, made glamorous folk figures of bad men and banditti, of vigilantes and rangers, and celebrated with breathless tempo and in high blacks and whites the romance and adventure and enterprise of the last frontier. This picture of the departing West took firm hold of popular consciousness and only gradually began to wane decades after the frontiers had been closed. Before then the concept of the frontier and of its disappearance had become a major factor in American social thought.

The frontier was going. As it went it left distinctive traces on the American mind through its cult of action, rough individualism, physical freedom, and adventurous romance. But these peculiarities yielded to the pull of national unity, to the undertow that was creating, in spite of the Indian, Negro, and foreign-born minorities, in spite of particularistic regions, a new sense of national unity, a new nation.

rationale or justification for capitalistic enterprise, but intellectual leadership in the country had lain with professional men, with cultured representatives of old and established mercantile families, and with educated interpreters of the agricultural way of life. This leadership and the values associated with it were now challenged by a new type of entrepreneur who came to wield great economic and political power in the third quarter of the century. The triumph of business enterprise raised many new questions about the future development of American intellectual life.

Perhaps the most important question was what the fate of the American dream, as James Truslow Adams has called it, would be. This dream, it will be recalled, was born of the Enlightenment and of Christian humanitarianism and was nourished by the ample opportunities afforded by a new country thinly peopled but rich in natural resources. Especially after 1870 did the rapidly increasing power of large-scale business rest on and give focus to materialistic and acquisitive values that differed appreciably from those that had been characteristic of the older America. In earlier times materialistic acquisition had in general been looked on not as an end in itself, not as something for the few, but as the means by which everyone in every walk of life might achieve comfort, security, education, the enrichment of personality—in short, the good life. Now the ruthlessness of the few great titans of industry and finance, who piled up huge fortunes through manufacturing or land and railway manipulation, threatened to block the progress of the plain people in their quest for the means to secure comforts and to fulfill modest cultural aspirations. In addition, the new order of business monopoly or near-monopoly seemed to emphasize the acquisition of material fortunes as ends in themselves rather than as a means to security, comfort, and personal development. The morning promises were no longer so bright and fresh as in the "golden day" when everyone took for granted an open road to moderate success.

A second important question posed by the rapid growth in importance of the business element was what its attitude toward esthetic and intellectual values and achievements would be. Conceivably the great figures in railway and land promotion and speculation and in industrial and banking enterprise might ignore or deprecate the values of scholarship, the creative arts, the humane tradition generally. Or they might consciously or unconsciously put so high a premium on the type of training

tion to these practical or utilitarian motives for self-culture, merchants felt that a familiarity with humanistic culture might elevate their rank in the eyes of society, enable them to pursue wealth with a higher and nobler purpose, and serve as protection against possible misfortunes by enabling them to acquire values and interests unconnected with their main concern. Spokesmen of business reminded the American public that the acquisition of wealth had always been the chief index of civilization and that without it no cultural refinement, no great intellectual achievement, had ever been or ever could be realized.

Other considerations, however, are important in explaining the culture and knowledge of certain business leaders and their sons. Sheer love of art and zeal for collecting account for James Jackson Jarves of Boston, who spent a fortune in acquiring Italian masterpieces that rivaled the great Bryan collection which had come to America in 1853. J. Pierpont Morgan, who had acquired a passion for rare books and pictures during his student days at Göttingen, believed that the love of finer things was of practical utility in leavening life's trials. Henry Lee Higginson, the Boston financier, was governed by a less purely personal consideration. When he founded the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1881 he was carrying out a youthful dream of his Viennese student days, a dream of enriching American life by enabling his fellow countrymen to enjoy permanently the symphonies of the great masters. It is also true that Higginson was not without class interest in the attitude he took toward philanthropy on occasion. In urging a wealthy kinsman to endow Harvard liberally, he bluntly declared that democracy had got fast hold of the world and that we must educate "to save ourselves and our families and our money from the mobs!"<sup>1</sup>

The rise of obscure and uncultivated men to great wealth was even more significant for the intellectual character of the period than the role of the cultured rich. It has been common to emphasize the narrow social outlook of the titans who through shrewdness and strength made immense fortunes. No one can well deny that their social philosophy often crudely identified exploitation of natural resources with progress, that it was frequently marked by a kind of law of the jungle, and that from a social standpoint it was irresponsible. Lust for speculation and preemption, huge wastefulness of natural wealth, bustling materialism, splendid audacity—these were all, to some extent, characteristic of the new busi-

<sup>1</sup> Bliss Perry, *Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson* (Little, Brown, and Co., 1921), 329.

an income of \$50,000 a year and only on the threshold of his career as a great steelmaker, turned over in his mind the appeal of a three-year sojourn at Oxford "to get a thorough education" and "to make the acquaintance of literary men." He at least brought Matthew Arnold to America as his guest and began to cultivate such scholars as Lord Bryce, John Morley, and Frederic Harrison. He did more; he avidly read Herbert Spencer, "the man to whom I owe most," as he put it. But businessmen were seldom scholars themselves. A woolen manufacturer, Rowland Gibson Hazard of Rhode Island, stands out because both before and after his retirement in 1866 he wrote on philosophical, political, and economic questions. He corresponded and even conversed with John Stuart Mill, who wrote that Hazard's *Letters on Causation and Freedom in Willing* (1869), like his previous books, did honor to American thought. Indeed, Mill quite naturally approved Hazard's thesis that the moral government of human beings rested largely on their expectation of consequences from their acts. The great English philosopher wrote that he wished Hazard "had nothing to do but philosophize . . . for I see in everything that you write a well-marked natural capacity for philosophy."

Only a few of the self-made industrialists went in for the cultivation of literary men or for writing, but many patronized the other arts. It is true that when thirst for praise led newly rich men to dig into their pockets for the rising Metropolitan Museum in New York, they were cold-shouldered by some of the older aristocracy because they were not gentlemen. Nevertheless, it became increasingly customary for promoters of such ventures to enlist the support of the new business titans and for these in turn to shower gifts on established institutions or preferably to endow new ones bearing their names.

The conception of art as a relic of past grandeur and as something to be acquired as an evidence of success and "culture" dominated the thought of the new men of wealth. William H. Vanderbilt became a great collector of the art of the past. Stillman, a New York banker, went in for Rembrandts and Titians, with which he embellished his house. William A. Clark filled the art gallery in his palatial New York residence with Titians, Rembrandts, Van Dycks, Hals, with Reynolds and Gainsboroughs, and with Gobelin and Beauvais tapestries. William Corcoran, who had begun to collect art in 1859, opened his gallery in Washington in 1872. Baker collected jades. Gates collected Corots. By

handsomely endowed a university which became an even greater center of research. Under Daniel Coit Gilman the new Johns Hopkins University, the first true graduate school in America, lived up to the hope of its founder in avoiding ecclesiasticism and partisanship and in widening many fields of knowledge. Ezra Cornell, carpenter and mechanic, having piled up a fortune in the telegraph business and public lands, was persuaded by Andrew D. White to enlarge his original idea for advancing agricultural education. The institution bearing the founder's name became a living tribute to his conviction that the "industrial and productive classes" deserved the best facilities for mental culture and practical knowledge. While Cornell was to be an institution where any person whatever could find instruction in any study, Vassar, Wellesley and Smith, similarly founded by the newly rich, concentrated on establishing opportunities for women to achieve the highest standards in collegiate education. From the fortune which Leland Stanford harvested in railroading emerged the university which he and his wife lovingly built in memory of their son.

The most important of the newly established universities was that which John D. Rockefeller endowed at Chicago. In 1896 the fabulously wealthy oil king could declare that the great secular university he had founded was the best investment he had ever made in all his life. "The good Lord gave me the money, and how could I withhold it from Chicago?" he asked. The philanthropies which he increasingly supported not only greatly advanced the cause of original research but gradually tended to lessen popular hostility against the man who had driven so many little fellows to the wall in building his great oil empire.

It remained for Andrew Carnegie to develop the best-articulated philosophy of philanthropy. In 1889 there appeared in the *North American Review* an article entitled "The Gospel of Wealth." It bore the name of the steel magnate and was introduced with high praise by the editor. In this essay Carnegie, after justifying the free enterprise system on the ground that it accorded with natural law, democracy, and human nature, went on to speak of the obligation of men of wealth to pour large parts of their means into socially useful causes. By so doing, Carnegie concluded, profits were socialized with the least possible harm to the free enterprise system, and any shortcomings in the workings of that system were compensated for with interest. The Scottish immigrant who had so miraculously succeeded in Pittsburgh had already established a public

a parallel one in England arising from similar problems. Herbert Spencer and Thomas Huxley were arguing that education had to serve the needs of an industrial and democratic order. In his famous essay, *What Knowledge is of Most Worth* (1859), Spencer held that science needed to be accorded a much larger place in education inasmuch as it was more valuable than the classics for the chief functions of living; these, according to Spencer, included self-preservation, health, earning a livelihood, parenthood and citizenship, and the enjoyment of art and leisure. On the other hand Matthew Arnold upheld the primary value of the classical languages and literature in forming mind, character, and taste, in acquainting man with the best that had been said and thought throughout the ages. In the United States the arguments advanced by Spencer and Huxley were received with applause by such champions of scientific education as Edward L. Youmans, who spread the word through lectures, manuals, and the *Popular Science Monthly*. The exponents of the classical tradition received the arguments of Matthew Arnold with enthusiasm.

Step by step concessions were made to the modernists, who spoke principally for the needs of an expanding civilization in which the natural and social sciences were foundation stones. The first great step was the elective system which President Eliot inaugurated at Harvard. It is true that this reflected not only the needs of the new industrial civilization but the good old Emersonian doctrine that the individual knows what is best for him and can be trusted to rely on himself. In any case the elective system dealt a blow to the classics and opened the way to collegiate training more directly suited to the needs of a business and technical civilization.

In 1871 the authorities of Yale published a brochure entitled *The Needs of the University*. This was very different in spirit from the famous Yale report of 1828, which had upheld the classical curriculum without concession to anything else. The Yale authorities still emphasized the value of mental discipline and liberal education, but they conceded that the study of the laws and forces of material nature by so-called laboratory or object lessons was of great importance. The claims of the Sheffield Scientific School were not overlooked. The appointment of Josiah Willard Gibbs to a new chair of mathematical physics at Yale in 1871 was, it is true, hardly a recognition of the needs of a new class of industrial capitalists concerned with steam and ma-

of business itself the Wharton School of Finance broke precedents when in 1884 it decided to give men the new degree of Bachelor of Finance as proof of special competence in this field.

Even the public schools felt the new impulses. The great international exhibitions brought home to American industrialists the importance of drawing and design in certain types of competitive production. By 1870 Massachusetts, the leading textile state, required instruction in drawing in the schools of the larger towns and cities, and in the same year Walter Smith was brought from South Kensington Art School in England to become state supervisor of drawing and art. Three years later the Massachusetts Normal Art School was opened. Although other factors entered into the picture, the need of industry was a major consideration in all this development. Powerful impetus was given to a similar movement when William T. Harris, the outstanding superintendent of the St. Louis schools, pioneered in introducing scientific instruction into the curriculum. This he justified in part on the ground that an industrial civilization required skills and training in the sciences.

But these were by no means the only influences of business on schools. In the appeals for enlarged support of secondary public education much was made of the training that high schools would give to future clerical workers. Even more was said of the value of a high school education in giving the voters of tomorrow sound economic knowledge and fortifying them against the lure of false panaceas.

### The Intellectuals and the Triumph of Business

The aid that school men consciously or unconsciously gave the new industrialism was paralleled in other intellectual circles. A leading historian of the period has maintained that journalism degraded itself in the post-Civil War years in an unprecedented degree. Never before, according to Oberholtzer, "had newspaper owners been such creatures of the corporation financier and the politicians who were being fed from the rich man's hands."<sup>5</sup> That a similar generalization could be made concerning a considerable segment of the legal profession is beyond reasonable doubt. In the eyes of some of his colleagues David

<sup>5</sup> Ellis P. Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War* (The Macmillan Company, 1917-1937), II, 541.



advocates of the rights of labor or of some control of business or of outright socialism were roundly denounced. Oliver Wendell Holmes used his bright wit to excoriate labor leaders as blindly selfish; Thomas Bailey Aldrich in *The Stillwater Tragedy* (1880) described the walking delegate as "a ghoul that lives upon subscriptions and sucks the senses out of innocent human beings"; and John Hay, in *The Breadwinners* (1884), pictured labor as violent, lawless, and overambitious. President Theodore Woolsey of Yale summoned much erudition to attack socialism and communism and to defend the rights of property. In brief, the main arguments outlined in the pre-Civil War defense of commerce and industry were asserted and applied, with some qualifications and hesitancy, to the rising business titans and the consolidation of corporate wealth under their auspices. Only after big business became the object of drastic and far-reaching criticism in the late 1880s and early 1890s was the conservative defense thoroughly elaborated and widely publicized.

But this is only a small part of the story of the reaction of intellectuals to the triumph of business enterprise in the third quarter of the century. Many, perhaps a majority, refused to have any more traffic than necessary with the giants of industry, and some did not hesitate to express disdain for them. "I have known, and known tolerably well," remarked Charles Francis Adams, "a good many 'successful' men—'big' financially—men famous during the last half-century; and a less interesting crowd I do not care to encounter. Not one that I have ever known would I care to meet again, either in this world or the next; nor is one of them associated in my mind with the ideas of humor, thought or refinement."<sup>10</sup> His brother, Henry Adams, was no less severe. "America contained scores of men worth five millions or upwards, whose lives were no more worth living than those of their cooks," he observed.<sup>11</sup> The Adamses spared neither their scholarship nor their spleen in damning "caesarism in business." Their withering indictment of the Fisks, Goulds, Drews, and Vanderbilts remains a classic in the literature of railroad high finance.

The Adamses were not alone. In certain circles in Boston wealth counted for little unless it was accompanied by some degree of intellectual distinction. This at least was the fond belief of wealthy and cultured

<sup>10</sup> *Autobiography of Charles Francis Adams* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), 190.

<sup>11</sup> *The Education of Henry Adams* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 348.

luckless American, diabolically tempted of the shallow and superficial, really to catch the flavour of an old civilization (it hardly matters which) and to strive to raise myself, for one brief moment at least, in the attitude of observation."<sup>12</sup> In somewhat the same vein the future novelist of the cosmopolitan American and the American who tried unsuccessfully to be cosmopolitan wrote complainingly of the vulgar, ignorant, crude self-complacency of his bad-speaking and bad-mannered countrymen. It was therefore appropriate for James to take as his main theme the plight of Americans in the sophisticated society of Europe. *Roderick Hudson* (1876) portrayed the collapse of the integrity of a New England sculptor when he abandoned Puritan discipline for the rich culture of the Old World. In *The American* (1877) a retired gentleman who could neither cast off his Americanism nor understand the subtle ways of the French family of Claire, his fiancée, came to grief. Similarly *Daisy Miller* (1879) was the tragedy of an American girl whose American manners gave a Europeanized fellow countryman an erroneous impression of her true character.

Henry James set an example. In varying degrees others sought the same escape from what they regarded as a culture devoid of beauty, antiquity, and interest. They did not need to be told by Matthew Arnold, who visited the United States in the 1880s, that their country was without an interesting civilization because it lacked roots, the discipline of awe and respect—everything, in short, that made for distinction. In Europe it was easier for them to close their eyes to the self-made businessmen, many of whom shared with their American fellows crude materialistic values. It is true that Mark Twain, in his witty and satirical *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), refused to look with awe on the "museum of magnificence and misery" he saw in Italy, and refrained from adulation of overrated landscapes, dingy ruins, desolation, and decay. William Dean Howells could appreciate the charms of the Old World, but he was a leader of those who chose to write about common actualities in his own country. Nevertheless, a large number of American men of letters, artists, and other intellectuals preferred with Henry James and F. Marion Crawford to become virtual expatriates or to live and think, so far as it was possible, like Europeans.

An impressive number of gifted American writers did not turn their

<sup>12</sup> Percy Lubbock (ed.), *The Letters of Henry James* (The Macmillan Company, 1920), I, 12.

fresh from California, asked Jay Gould at a New York dinner party for a "tip" on the market. The man who "knew" stated the exact opposite of the truth, namely, that he was buying Vandalia Railroad and selling Western Union. Joaquin Miller, taking the tip, had his fingers burned; in fact, by following Gould's tricky lead, he lost most of his fortune. *The Destruction of Gotham* was Miller's reply. In this novel the poet of the Sierras excoriated the iniquities of the stock exchange and the class identified with it. Such examples could be multiplied.

While many writers spent their talents in ridiculing and condemning the moneyed class, in emphasizing the withering effects of unrestrained competition for gold, others took the part of the laborers. The *Atlantic Monthly* published Rebecca Harding Davis's "Life in the Iron Mills," an early portrait, fierce and stark, of the lot of the industrial worker. Seven years later the same periodical brought to the public a story in which the brutalizing insecurity of labor was dramatically depicted when a factory collapsed, with its inevitable havoc to lives already twisted by deprivation and toil. The author, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, again pleaded for Christian justice to the mill worker in a subsequent piece of fiction, *The Silent Partner* (1871). Less unctuous than this Puritan idyll was Edward Bellamy's *The Duke of Stockbridge* (1879). Far from flawless as a piece of literature, this historical novel of Shays' rebellion nonetheless revealed a fairly acute understanding of exploitation, injustice, and revolt. These works showing humane sympathy for the underdog and criticizing sharply the ways of the rich were merely the beginnings of a crop of novels, stories, and essays which in the 1880s and 1890s testified to the sympathies of a great company of American writers.

If some intellectuals contented themselves with literary onslaughts against the new business class and with sympathetic portraits of industrial workers, others went further. In California in 1871, Henry George, who had known the sting of poverty in that land of fabulous wealth, published a little tract that contained the germ of the single-tax idea and of the movement subsequently launched in its behalf. About the same time the veteran abolitionist, Wendell Phillips, was striking out boldly on new paths. Refusing to share the contentment displayed by most of his fellow workers in the antislavery crusade, Phillips continued to condemn intellectuals for their indifference toward new social evils. He himself bestowed sympathy on the movement for the eight-hour day, spoke and labored for a cooperative system of production, and demanded

fairly accurate picture of the corruption and timidity of legislators before business pressure, of the boss and the spoils system, of the contempt that most cultured Americans felt toward politics. *The American Commonwealth* did much to prepare the ground for the growing interest in reform.

The protests and actions of the intellectuals who refused to apologize for and serve the new business giants or to escape into the culture of the Old World merely heralded the more drastic and widespread criticism of the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth. Meantime other currents of thought were dividing both the leaders of intellectual life and even the plain people themselves.

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## The Delimitation of Supernaturalism

*You are more than anyone else the master of your subject. I declare that you know my book as well as I do myself; and bring to the question new lines of illustration and argument . . . which excite my astonishment and almost my envy! Every single word seems weighed carefully, and tells like 32-pound shot.*

—CHARLES DARWIN TO ASA GRAY, 1860

The most striking event in the intellectual history of the last third of the nineteenth century was the blow dealt the historic doctrine of supernaturalism—the doctrine that a divine Creator stands above the laws of nature and intervenes directly in natural events and the affairs of men through miracles and the granting of grace—by new developments in the biological and physical sciences.

From early colonial times, to be sure, the area dominated by supernaturalism had been slowly shrinking. Each scientific advance imperceptibly reduced the range of the unknown and, as men had supposed, unknowable mysteries. The Newtonian system, at first a challenge to orthodoxy, was gradually assimilated to Calvinism and Anglicanism alike. This assimilation had implanted in the minds of intellectuals, and to some degree in those of ordinary people, a growing appreciation of the ideas of natural law, of cause and effect, and even of a somewhat greater degree of human control through knowledge of nature's appar-

lous processes of life in the plant and animal world were accommodated to theism by the doctrine that God was immanent in all His creatures. In other words, by the end of the century the march of science had been on the whole, and certainly on the surface, adjusted by theologians to fit Christian doctrine. Yet the process by which this was accomplished inevitably delimited the area of supernaturalistic faith and increased that of naturalism.

### Theology, Systematic and Popular

If supernaturalism was losing ground among intellectuals, it was by no means, in the post-Civil War period, on the road to extinction among the masses. One evidence of this is the fact that in proportion to the growth of population church membership more than held its own. It is true that mere adherence to a church was not in itself proof that the churchgoer was a full-fledged supernaturalist. But within most of the traditional sects a large part of the laity and a considerable portion of the clergy themselves clung to traditionally supernaturalistic views. Moreover, a large portion of the increase in church membership resulted from the new wave of Catholic immigration; and Catholicism, which brooked few compromises with science or anything else that weakened the supernaturalistic foundation of the church, reinforced supernaturalistic doctrines.

The days in which the theologians wrote great systematic treatises such as those of Jonathan Edwards, Joseph Bellamy, and Samuel Hopkins were almost over. Post-Civil War scholars still remembered and respected the quasi-Kantian *Rational Psychology* (1848) of Laurens Hickok, president of Union College and America's most competent technical philosopher between Edwards and the rising pragmatists. The learned devout welcomed Hickok's *Humanity Immortal* (1872) and *The Logic of Reason* (1875) as able defenses of theism. In 1873 a voice from an even older past spoke in the ponderous, wooden, and yet in a sense sublime *Systematic Theology* by Charles Hodge, a sustained defense of the infallibility of the Word of God. In accordance with that Word, it was not for men, whom Hodge likened to worms of the dust, to grapple with the problem of the duration of future punishment. In the mind of this Princeton theologian "it should constrain us to

the land a narrow concept of Christian morals based on supernatural revelations and sanctions.

The popularity of certain books revealed, no less than evangelical revivals and moral crusades, the appeal of supernaturalistic ideas and ethical values. When, in 1868, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps published *The Gates Ajar*, she tapped a vast reservoir of need; people still mourning for sons and husbands lost on the battlefields craved reassurance that life really is eternal, that Heaven really is just within reach. The subsequent psychic novels of Mrs. Phelps elaborated with much detail the actualities of the Other World and of daily life within the golden portals. At the same time the highly pious novels of E. P. Roe and J. G. Holland enjoyed immense popularity. But no book swept the land with such force as General Lew Wallace's *Ben Hur* (1880). This volume succeeded in dramatizing Christ as a hero without in the least lessening reverence for Him as a supernatural force.

On the young people's level supernatural doctrines appeared to be equally well rooted. In the early 1890s the child psychologist, Earl Barnes, revealed by the popular questionnaire technique that a great majority of a thousand California school children pictured God as a tall white-haired old man, generally benevolent but quite capable of provoking an earthquake at will; Heaven as a place of golden streets with angels strumming on golden harps; and the devil as the horned and tailed creature of ancient lore. Less anthropomorphic but no less supernatural ideas found their way into school textbooks. "Every tiny atom," declared Steele's *Fourteen Weeks of Chemistry* (1873) "is watched by the Eternal Eye and guided by the Eternal Hand." Variation of climate and other environmental influences failed to explain the peculiarities of animals; these were the result, according to Colton's *Geography*, of God's superior wisdom and beneficence. In terms similar to those that had been employed a hundred years earlier children learned in Cruikshank's *Primary Geography* that "God made the world for man to live in and has fitted it for man's convenience and comfort." Rules of good conduct in consequence rested directly on divine sanctions. This was the burden of much of the reading designed for the instruction of children in science. And what was true of the scientific literature for children was true of much of the popular science that reached adults and, indeed, of a vast body of widely read fiction and other secular literature.

The prewar interest in spiritualism was upheld after the war by the



to P. P. Quimby, a Maine mental healer, to Shakerism, to the "orphyic sayings" of the Transcendentalist Bronson Alcott, and possibly to a diluted Hegelianism. Whether or not she was divinely inspired, as her followers maintained, she was certainly profoundly influenced by the Bible. The central doctrine of her teaching was that matter has no real existence and that therefore sin, poverty, sickness, and death are all alike illusions or "errors" of mortal mind. In consequence of this cardinal truth all these "errors" disappear just as soon as mortal mind puts itself in true harmony with Eternal Mind. "Healing the sick," wrote Mrs. Eddy, "through mind instead of matter, enables us to heal the absent as well as the present." But vindictive persons might, through evil thought or "malicious animal magnetism," produce misfortune and disease in their victims. Although Mrs. Eddy made no distinction between the physical and the mental and, indeed, denied the very existence of the physical, she nevertheless freely used such analogies from natural science as "mental chemicalization" and "gravitation downward." The cryptic passages in *Science and Health* seemed rather to impress than to discourage many seekers after light.

The appeal of the new cult has been in part explained by the American love for novelty in religions and in part by the repressed but nonetheless authentic yearning for mysticism in the American as in all forms of civilization. It took hold mainly, but by no means exclusively, in cities where, in common belief, the pace, the stress, the strain of life produced more nervous disorders than in the country. It appealed to the restless and the aspiring, but it also appealed to the comfortable and the prosperous—possibly because it provided a psychological compensation for their actual overemphasis on material values in daily living; it was people of this latter type that Edward Eggleston satirized in his novel, *The Faith Doctor*.

In a general sense, no doubt, the continued vogue of supernaturalism in the more traditional as well as in the more heterodox forms answered the emotional needs of large numbers of Americans. It provided assurances in a period of change and dislocation incident to industrialization and urbanization and to the challenge of the new science with all its uncertainties. If the earthly road was hard—and he who stumbled in depressions or in droughts or in the visitation of locusts knew that it was hard—supernaturalism as of old provided explanations for misfortune and faith for the future. Thus special emotional needs reinforced mere



Chautauqua Culture.  
(Courtesy, Gay Maclaren  
and Redpath and Redpath  
Lyceum Bureau, and Red-  
path Chautauquas.)



From the Depths. William  
B. Ker, 1906. (Courtesy,  
Whitney Museum of Art.)

is also true that the decline of the old-fashioned Sunday was already marked even before the Civil War, and that the war itself, while accelerating the decline, was only a minor factor in it. What was chiefly responsible was the plain fact that the ordinary industrial and business worker after a week of routine and grinding toil craved excitement and amusement on Sunday. To provide this, commercial recreations became organized on an ever-larger scale. In response to these new patterns of life state laws enforcing strict Sabbath-day observances were gradually relaxed, especially in the urbanized parts of the country. The orthodox made impressive efforts to keep the old, straightlaced Lord's Day. But, as Arthur M. Schlesinger has pointed out, even these efforts came increasingly to be governed by the argument that the Sabbath should be respected not merely because it was man's duty to consecrate the day to God, but rather because man himself stood in need of a rational day of rest after a week of work and strain.

Urbanization also indirectly worked against supernaturalism inasmuch as it was the focal point of the general advance in science. For example, the city, with its crowded slums and invitation to the spread of contagious diseases, offered a fresh stimulus to scientists to meet the threat to life itself imposed by urban conditions. At the same time it provided both the wealth and the specialization necessary to advance research in medicine and to put into operation the new discoveries of Pasteur, Lister, Koch, and other European pioneers in bacteriology. The knowledge that bacteria caused many ailments which could be controlled through neutralization of the germs served in the popular mind to steady if not to control God's hand in disease and death. In 1896 a Yale scientist tried out Roentgen's epoch-making discovery of the X ray, and before the end of the century the no less important discovery of radium by the Curies inaugurated a new period in therapeutics. Thanks to all these and other innovations, in the decade of the 1890s the average mortality rate in the country fell nearly 10 percent and the expectancy of life rose from 31 to 35 years.

The countryside, hardly less than the city, experienced acute needs which stimulated scientific inquiry and control. The introduction in 1889 of the Australian ladybird beetle saved California's citrus crop from the devastating white scale. Experimentation sponsored by the the land-grant colleges and the Department of Agriculture in Washington provided new methods for the elimination of plant and animal diseases that had baffled

In considerable degree American theologians limited themselves to translating the findings of Continental scholars in the field of higher criticism and to synthesizing, interpreting, and popularizing the work of Old World colleagues. In this field no one did such distinguished service as Philip Schaff of the Union Theological Seminary. A *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures* (1865-1880), a twenty-five-volume work based on the studies of John P. Lange, and the *Religious Encyclopedia* (1882-1884), which rested on the scholarship of Herzog, Plitt, and Hauck, were important agencies for the transmission of the higher criticism. It will also be recalled that other immigrants, especially Jews, enriched American Old Testament scholarship. The revised version of the King James Bible which appeared in the 1880s was the result of the cooperative labors of American and English scholars. The Hebrew and the New Testament lexicons of Francis Brown and J. Henry Thayer were creditable achievements. In 1891 Professor Orello Cone, of the theological school at St. Lawrence University, published *Gospel-Criticism and Historical Christianity*, an original study that did honor to American scholarship. In the eyes of some of Europe's greatest authorities on higher criticism Cone's *Paul, the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher* (1898) was the ablest monograph on its subject in any language. And in the field of comparative religion James Freeman Clarke's *Ten Great Religions* (1871) and the works of Arthur H. Smith and James S. Dennis found many readers.

These European and American contributions to the higher criticism and to comparative religion served to limit the area of supernaturalism, at first among the leaders, then among the masses. Professor William N. Clarke of Colgate University no doubt spoke for many when he wrote:

I may describe my forward step by saying that hitherto I had been using the Bible in the light of its statements, but that now I found myself using it in the light of its principles. . . . At first I said: "The Scriptures limit me to this"; later I said, "The Scriptures open my way to this." . . . As for the Bible, I am not bound to work all its statements into my system: nay, I am bound not to work them all in; for some of them are not congenial to the spirit of Jesus and some express truth in forms that cannot be of permanent validity.<sup>2</sup>

This general position of regarding the Bible as a source not of re-

<sup>2</sup> William N. Clarke, *Sixty Years with the Bible* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 97-98, 210-211, 120, 121.

George S. Morris, and George Trumbull Ladd, were idealists, strongly influenced by Hegelian and post-Hegelian German philosophy. Idealism always involves a kind of supernaturalism—in the broadest sense of the word—but the new philosophy was not so precisely Christian as the Scottish common-sense philosophy of James McCosh or Francis Wayland. The idealists defended “the Absolute,” not the God of Protestant Christianity. When the German-trained thinkers replaced the more orthodox theologians in American colleges and universities, the league of Christianity and higher education was severely shaken.

### The Physical Universe

In 1851, just twenty years before publishing the *Linear Associative Algebra* which had much to do with Benjamin Peirce’s reputation as the greatest of nineteenth-century American mathematicians, the Harvard scholar declared:

... in approaching the forbidden limits of human knowledge, it is becoming to tread with caution and circumspection. Man’s speculations should be subdued from all rashness and extravagance in the immediate presence of the Creator. And a wise philosophy will beware lest it strengthen the arms of atheism, by venturing too boldly into so remote and obscure a field of speculation as that of the mode of Creation which was adopted by the Divine Geometer.<sup>3</sup>

The explorers of the secrets of the universe were indeed sufficiently awed by its mysteries to preserve circumspect reverence, and many maintained their own personal faith in theism. Nevertheless, the developments abroad in astronomy and in physics, developments to which Americans added some contributions of importance, did tend in several respects to delimit the area of supernaturalism.

In astronomy the researches of Herschel and Struve broke down the older belief that stars form stable systems in the sense in which the solar system is stable. It was clear, in other words, that the traditional Newtonian conception of a permanent scheme of movement of heavenly bodies in accord with fixed laws of gravitation no longer explained much

<sup>3</sup> Benjamin Peirce, “On the Constitution of Saturn’s Ring,” *The Astronomical Journal*, II (June 16, 1851), 19.

same paper he advanced the so-called second law of thermodynamics. According to this, the inevitable result of the fact that no new energy could be created was the ultimate dissipation, so far as the earth was concerned, of the sun's heat as it spread farther and farther into remote space.

The implications of these theories for supernaturalism were momentous. It appeared that physical force was indestructible and that matter was no less permanent. If neither force nor matter underwent change save in accord with definite laws, what became of the supernaturalistic faith in the priority of spirit and mind over matter? If in the infinitude of time and space natural laws governed both force and matter, there was little room for supernatural explanations of the origin and course of the universe. Moreover, the second law of thermodynamics seemed irreconcilable with Christian ethic. If total and endless eclipse set in when the sun's candle at length burned down to its socket, it was difficult to believe in an all-wise, all-provident Creator whose work was designed with man in mind and for His own perpetual glory. Samuel P. Langley, as if to answer such misgivings, did suggest in *The New Astronomy* (1888) that there might be something "more enduring than frail humanity," something higher than man with his limited sensations, limited experience, limited power of conceiving anything for which his experience had not prepared him. But any such suggested accommodation of Christian doctrine to the new physics could at best hardly fail to unsettle in men's minds the traditional faith in progress and providence, a faith for which Newton's tightly mechanistic system in its unmodified form provided.

Physicists not only advanced doctrines that increased faith in natural forces and in scientific law. They also continued to point to new ways in which man could control forces their fathers had regarded as beyond human reach. At Yale Willard Gibbs virtually laid the foundations for the science of chemical energetics or physical chemistry. His pioneer and unusually creative work in vector analysis, in statistical mechanics, and above all in the measurement of energy involved in the shifting variables and the achievement of a given equilibrium in homogeneous and heterogeneous substances canceled many mysteries of nature. In a great paper written in 1876 Gibbs advanced his famous Rule of Phase, a principle which provided a key for classifying the innumerable details in the behavior of "coexistent phases of matter," especially the relationships

length of light waves without reference to the source or the observer. In 1881 this wizard measurer of hitherto incalculable distances determined cosmic motions to the extent of reporting on the absolute motion of the earth as it followed the sun's course through space. This was to enable scientists to measure accurately the diameter of incredibly remote stars. All this, more fully developed by Einstein's fertile mind, was a point of departure for the theory of relativity.

These ideas, together with the findings of Darwin, affected geological studies. The fact-finding geologists, working under the auspices of the states and the United States Geological Survey (1879), continued to fill in the larger outlines of knowledge. The work of Thomas C. Chamberlin and others modified the older theory of glaciation by establishing the high probability that not one but at least five great glacial periods had formed the earth's surface. But this was less startling to traditionalists than the "planetesimal hypothesis" which Chamberlin, a professor at the University of Chicago, advanced in germ form in 1897. According to this theory the earth owed its birth to the disruption of the sun on the approach of some other star, with the consequent expulsion of an amorphous mass out of which ultimately the earth was formed as an incalculable number of minute particles swirled about in the sun's orbit until final coalescence. Even if not fully accepted, this theory, together with Chamberlin's investigation of the evolution of geological climates and of the atmosphere, threw into an entirely new and startling perspective much about which the ignorant had been dogmatic or indifferent and the learned vague and mystical.

## Darwinism

If the higher criticism, the study of comparative religions, and the new astronomy, physics, and geology were slowly undermining the fortress of supernaturalism, the doctrine of organic evolution was an even more devastating force. By the time Darwin's *Origin of Species* appeared in 1859, the more intelligent and well trained among the theologically minded, together with most natural scientists, had accepted the implications of Lyell's geological studies: the earth had not been made in seven days but had developed over eons of time. (Henry Adams remarked that Lyell had completely wrecked the Garden of Eden!) Lyell had indeed

age from another, and that the species, being the thoughts of God, were immutable. To his death in 1873 he refused to accept the new teachings of Darwin.

Loyalty to religion partly explained the opposition of James Dwight Dana, holder of the British Royal Society's Copley Prize and America's leading geologist. A deeply religious man who revered the sublime mysteries in nature, Dana found the best evidences of an all-comprehending Creator in the doctrine that God had planned and evolved the organic kingdom step by step in accordance with a prearranged design. Only gradually did he modify this position. In fact, it was not until the final edition of his famous *Manual of Geology* (1895) that he accepted Darwinism without reservation. Other religious-minded scientists were deterred from avowing the new doctrine by reason of predilection for the supernatural. President Barnard of Columbia College, a distinguished scientist, wrote in 1873 that the existence of God and the immortality of the soul could not be maintained if organic evolution were true.

The influence of religious faith and values explains the tendency of the first scientists who accepted Darwinism to insist that it was not at all incompatible with the divine creation and governance of the universe. Asa Gray, the distinguished Harvard botanist with whom Darwin had corresponded before the *Origin of Species* appeared, quickly brushed aside his first doubts and qualifications and became the outstanding scientific champion of the new doctrine. But Gray was a devout Christian, and always maintained that Darwinism did no substantial harm to Christianity. In his first essays on the subject, which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1860, Gray made a great point of the argument that natural selection was not inconsistent with natural theology. In contending that natural selection did not exclude the doctrine of design, in arguing that in consequence the new position was not identical with skepticism and materialism, Gray did enormous service to Darwinism. More than anything else the weight of his authority made it possible for scientists with religious views to accept the doctrine. Among other scientists who took up Gray's idea that Omnipotent fiat did not exclude the development theory and secondary causes, George Frederick Wright, a geologist at Oberlin, was especially important. Wright, who was a minister as well as a geologist, popularized Gray's interpretation of Darwinism far and wide among orthodox believers. So too did Alexander Winchell at Ann Arbor and Joseph Le Conte at Berkeley.

One by one liberal theological leaders accepted the position that



Both, he insisted, had the same Author, the same spirit, the same end; Christianity adopted man's body, mind, and soul at the exact point at which organic evolution had brought them, and then carried on the building by the gradual spiritual process which was putting the finishing touches on the ascent of man.

The chief credit for reconciling theism and evolution and for popularizing the results belongs to John Fiske. From the time when this young philosopher delivered his Harvard lectures on evolution in 1869, until his death, he spared no pains in trying to convince his countrymen that evolution was immanent in the plan of the universe, that it was God's way of achieving His divine purposes. Fiske's *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* (1874), in which he advanced these views, went through sixteen editions. His even more pointed and popular later books put him in the front rank of the reconcilers of faith and science. In these he made natural law clearly purposive, man's spiritual evolution the unquestioned goal of all development past and present, and the cosmos itself theistic. The Reverend Lyman Abbott, Beecher's successor, rendered Fiske's somewhat roseate interpretation of evolution even more fashionable.

In their own ways other scholars helped to accommodate Christian thought to the doctrine of evolution. By showing that Christianity's stubborn opposition throughout history to every scientific innovation had on the whole been futile, John William Draper and Andrew D. White took much ground from under the feet of those who fought Darwinism. The Cornell president's *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (1896) was widely read and no doubt convinced many critics of evolution that continued opposition would be not only useless in the long run but actually harmful to organized Christianity. Yet in spite of the growing acceptance among liberal Christians of the Darwinian teachings, many, especially in rural areas, resolutely refused to have any traffic with the new doctrines. Even in the twentieth century four or five states tried by law to prohibit the teaching of evolution as established truth in public schools and colleges. As late as 1925 William Jennings Bryan attracted world-wide attention in a trial of a teacher at Dayton, Tennessee, by upholding the Scriptural account of creation. But this was a back eddy in the mainstream.

The reconciliation of evolution and religion was not, of course, the only factor in the victory of Darwinism. Certain able champions of evolution defended it without any reference at all to the necessity or

crusade did much, in spite of certain metaphysical implications in Spencer's thought, to weaken faith in supernaturalism. Youmans especially popularized the evolutionary position. He made available to American readers the great scientific classics of contemporary Europe, he wrote useful and popular scientific textbooks, he lectured hither and yon, and he founded and for many years edited the *Popular Science Monthly*, a periodical which carried the message of evolution into many corners.

The doctrine of organic evolution spread fairly rapidly among the well-educated members of the well-to-do and middle classes. No doubt Darwinism found acceptance in part at least because it provided a rationale for a rapidly changing way of life. To thoughtful men it became increasingly clear that the doctrine had in fact long been heralded, that it was a part of a long naturalistic tradition. By these men and their followers Darwin was accepted with a sense of high excitement; he was another guide to the bright world of reason which they and their forebears had long been seeking. Darwinism reduced the irrational, absolutistic, and transcendental elements in philosophy, in life itself. If some lamented the loss of faith in supernaturalism which it brought, others rejoiced in their sense of new-found power as human beings.

Thus when man began to account for his own origins in naturalistic terms; when he began to describe the chemical and physical composition of the planets, the sun, and the Milky Way; when he devised instruments to measure the velocity of light and the distances of heavenly bodies; when he probed into the mysteries of the earth's origin and that of solar systems remote from his own, then indeed he had proceeded far on his way toward solving the mystery of the universe. He had not, he knew, grasped the ultimate mysteries, but he had vastly reduced the scope of supernaturalism and enlarged the horizons of knowledge. Even more important, he had achieved new perspectives, invented instruments of incalculable potentialities, and even formulated new conceptions of the nature of knowledge and of reality itself.

that was fixed and final. The rapidly growing technological character of the culture, like the traditional frontier experience, further suggested that ordinary affairs and everyday life were in constant process of re-making. Moreover, the fact that men had visibly and within the memory of two or three generations actually created so much of the physical culture of the country suggested the unfinished character of the experiment. All these reasons, then, help explain why the scientific and especially the evolutionary position, emphasizing as it did the long-favored doctrine of progress, the power of man to reconstruct society, and a generally optimistic faith in the future, found congenial soil in America.

### The Science of the Mind

Nowhere was the impact of the new science more revolutionary than in the field of psychology. In 1870 learned men regarded the human mind much as it had been viewed for centuries. Individual minds were all presumably patterned after a universal type; mind was specially created to set human kind off from the other creatures; it existed separately from the body, "parallel" to corresponding bodily activities but made of different stuff; and it was in the main considered from a static rather than an evolutionary standpoint. It could be studied with success and profit by "armchair" introspective methods. These were leading doctrines of the times.

While these traditional views of mind prevailed in the United States the objective technique for studying mental life was making great headway in Wundt's laboratory in Leipzig. It had begun to dawn on Wundt and a few other pioneers that mental activity must be studied not as mind but as minds, and that sensations could be measured and understood in scientific terms. The influence of physics and physiology on the study of mental phenomena was transforming psychology into a natural science.

While no one can dispute the contribution of Wundt's American disciples in establishing objective techniques for the study of mind and divorcing mental phenomena from teleological and supernatural characteristics, the same end was even more strikingly promoted by the gifted pioneers working within the Darwinian scheme of things. In both the

the monumental *Principles of Psychology* (1890), was far more systematic and extensive than Dewey's. Each, moreover, approached psychology from different backgrounds and by different roads. James was a student of medicine and biology, as well as of the British empiricists; Dewey had been a close student of the post-Kantians, and especially of Hegel. James, while not a thoroughgoing experimentalist, did make some firsthand investigations and approached the problem of personality from the modern clinical point of view. Dewey was not, in the technical sense, an experimenter, though he closely observed children in learning situations. Although the psychological theories of the two differed in various respects, they may nevertheless be conveniently treated together.

The traditional conception of the mind as something only indirectly and remotely connected with the body was rejected. The whole conscious field was regarded as a function of the nervous system. Both emotional and problem-solving factors in so-called thinking were given a new and highly significant role. Mind, in other words, became a function of living. The conception of mind as an instrument that enabled the organism to adjust to its environment or even to transform it was novel and far-reaching in its implications; the ability of any organism, including man, to survive rested on its capacity to maintain an ever-shifting equilibrium or adjustment with its environment. To maintain this equilibrium, either the organism or the environment had to be "adjusted"; both organism and environment might be adjusted or readjusted at the same time. The selection of blind or random impulses that worked most effectively in achieving the equilibrium became the basis of learning. Mind was, so to speak, a function of the adjustment of the organism to its environment. The impulses or movements by which the organism adjusted itself to its shifting environment became fixed in habit systems, of which James wrote in the *Principles of Psychology* in a characteristically spirited and engaging way. Meantime his pupil, Edward L. Thorndike, was carrying out experiments in animal learning which provided telling evidence for the new conception of mind.

The influence of Darwin on the concept of ideas was also plain. Ralph Barton Perry has clearly demonstrated that James's conception of the a priori factors in human knowledge was an application of the Darwinian concept of a spontaneous or accidental variation; whether individual variations are great or small, they survive or disappear as their environment, roughly speaking, determines. In Dewey the emphasis was

## Pragmatism and Instrumentalism

The new spirit of natural science, especially Darwinian biology, reshaped fundamental philosophical conceptions at the same time that traditional notions about the mind were being replaced by naturalistic ones. John Dewey, in calling attention to the influence of Darwin on philosophy, wrote that for 2000 years the familiar furniture of the mind assumed the superiority of the fixed and the final, the unreality and defectiveness of all conceptions of origin and change. But once the full implications of evolution were grasped, all ideas and values were to be thought of in terms of origin and process; it then became natural to view life itself as an experiment, the physical order as the result of a natural selection that had given no signs of ending.

Perhaps the point of departure for this development, which was characteristically but not uniquely American and which came to be known as pragmatism, instrumentalism, and experimentalism, was a general position implicit in Darwinism and made explicit by Chauncey Wright. According to this disciple of the great naturalist, most of the philosophical puzzles if not all of them might be reduced to unseen ambiguities of terms, since all the ends of life are within, rather than without, the actual sphere of life itself. Wright also remarked at a discussion group in Cambridge, which included William James and Charles S. Peirce, that the Newtonian experimental philosopher always translates general propositions into prescriptions for obtaining new experimental facts. This remark was a clue for Peirce, who, as he put it, had already developed the "laboratory habit of mind."

Peirce developed the suggestions of the Cambridge discussion group, his practical experience as a scientist, and his gleanings from Kant and from medieval thought into a complex and even systematic philosophy. In many respects, Peirce was not a Pragmatist at all—at least in the sense in which James and Dewey were Pragmatists. He began his career as a philosopher with prolonged daily study of Kant's critical idealism. He was also influenced profoundly by the medieval realist, Duns Scotus. And Peirce always tried to dissociate himself from the British empirical tradition of Locke and John Stuart Mill. His concepts of truth and reality, viewed within the context of his philosophy as a whole, have a distinctly un-Pragmatic cast. They look forward always to the presumed existence of an abstract "community" of intelligent beings in an in-

but a social-biological as well as a purely mathematical theory of signs. Even without an understanding of Peirce's efforts to reconcile free will and fate, the general and the particular, metaphysics and empiricism, it is possible to grasp the essence of his method, which is of fundamental importance to the logic of pragmatic philosophy. To the traditional classes of logic, deduction and inference, he added the concept of the hypothesis as basic in logic. In enlarging logic to include the traditional faculties of "imagination" and "originality" he extended the boundaries of its essentially static field.

While Peirce rejected any method of making ideas clear that tested their consequences in terms of particular or personal ends, William James, who was much influenced by him, emphasized the personal or emotional satisfaction which an idea provided. The influence of his Swedenborgian father and his own emotional dissatisfaction with "materialism" accentuated in his mind the limitations of the traditional empiricism which rested on sense experience alone. In the spirit of the pragmatist and experimentalist James tried to push empiricism to more radical lengths by giving the *connections* between sense experience a psychological status on a par with whatever was actually connected. Thus people's thoughts about things were important, were data, in themselves. This, together with James's emphasis on the emotional or personal satisfactions that any idea gave any person confronted by problems in life's endless and risky struggle, led him to regard religious experience as "true" if and when it "worked," if and when its consequences to the individual conformed to what the individual expected. But in thinking of any idea, even of any supernatural idea, as true if it enabled the individual to deal satisfactorily with concrete experiences, James did not at all go back on the scientific and evolutionary character of his philosophy; any idea "true" at any given time for a given person might not be true for others, or even for that person under different circumstances.

Thus even so-called supernatural ideas which were "true" by virtue of their effects were merely ideas on trial, instruments subject to constant retesting in the hazardous experiment which all life in essence really was. And James's conception of "the open universe," his emphasis on "the unfinished experiment," his opposition to any and all dogmatisms, including scientific dogmatisms, and his view of all life, of the whole universe, as an effect of progressive selection, all these meant that he operated within the evolutionary, naturalistic framework. As Morris

nature as plastic in character and capable of improvement through improved social environment. But through his conceptions of the individual and the group, and of the role of education in promoting social change, he amplified the eighteenth-century view and concretely related it to the new science of the later nineteenth century. For Dewey neither animals nor man face their environment and their struggle alone; most go down or survive in groups. In a constitutive way the group influences the individual. To put it differently, the individual is the microcosm of which the enveloping group is the macrocosm. The individual and the group of the future might be reciprocally changed by intelligently selecting from the group values those likely to achieve the results desired, the selection to be constantly tested by results.

This was the psychological and philosophical basis for Dewey's educational program. By the middle of the 1890s he was demonstrating, in his experimental school at the University of Chicago, how a new type of education far removed from traditional schoolroom practice might promote two interdependent values—the growth of full individuality in all and a more democratic society. These goals were to be promoted by selecting for emphasis methods designed to develop multiple leadership, the full flowering of each personality, and cooperative habits through group attacks on common problems.

The progressive education movement reflected more, indeed, than the application of pragmatism and instrumentalism to education. It reflected the direct impact of the doctrine of evolution itself. This doctrine undermined the traditional conception of human nature as something "bad," the "will" of the child as something to be "broken" by harsh discipline. Evolutionary doctrine did not view the youthful mind as an adult mind in miniature, subject to the same drives and discipline as the minds of mature men and women. In addition to the doctrine of evolution, other philosophical concepts fed the stream of the philosophy of progressive education. Felix Adler, pioneer in the Ethical Culture movement, Colonel Francis Parker of Quincy, Massachusetts, and Chicago, and Ella Flagg Young, also of Chicago, contributed ethical, social, and pedagogical ideas to progressive education. Yet Dewey, who specifically applied the instrumentalist philosophy to education, was the real father of the movement. Above all, education was always for him a more comprehensive process than that implied in his concept of school and society; it was in reality instrumentalist philosophy

everything in it must be appropriate to its functions definitely reflected the influence of the evolutionary outlook.

Artists increasingly deserted traditional forms, left their cloisters, worked in the laboratories of scientists to learn through experiment the true functions of light and color, and attempted to find a living, organic, functional art in new relationships of angles, surfaces, forms, and lines.

A quarter of a century after the first modernistic exhibition in New York in 1913, John Dewey at last systematized the esthetic principles of the instrumentalist philosophy. He showed how and why exponents and practitioners of the fine arts had come to deprecate the practical arts, to reject any positive and intimate association of the fine arts with the normal processes of living. In Dewey's mind this was a pathetic and tragic commentary both on artists and on the life actually lived day by day by ordinary men and women. The tendency of traditional esthetics to elevate ideal above and beyond sense had made art pallid and bloodless; art, true art, proves the realized and therefore "realizable union of material and ideal."

It is true that older views of esthetics as well as of the nature of ideas and of education continued to be maintained not only in the smaller Christian colleges but in the great universities. Authorities on esthetics did not share the views of Dewey, Sullivan, and Wright in any large measure. It is certainly true that the vast majority of people in the cities and towns and on the farms continued to look on art and literature as mere decoration rather than essential elements in their lives; the way of life of these people of course conditioned such an outlook far more than traditional esthetic ideas. The men and women who directed American schools were, until the World War I, far more influenced by the Hegelian idealism of William T. Harris and the Herbartianism of the McMurry brothers than they were by William James's *Talks to Teachers* and John Dewey's *School and Society*.

Nevertheless, Darwinism and modern science had exposed traditional conceptions of esthetics, ethics, ideas, and mind itself to profound change. The absolute in every field of philosophy tended little by little to give way to the relative, the supernatural to the natural. The ancient conflict between mind and matter, the real and the ideal, between particulars and generals, was resolved in the writings of the pragmatists and instrumentalists by making "function the essential problem and emergence the norm." The old walls were beginning to crumble.



seemed to fit the needs of American development. And if the doctrine of mutability of customs, beliefs, and institutions was disconcerting to the champions of "permanent institutions," it was by the same token congenial to the growing number who frankly advocated change and adjustments to new needs and conditions. Moreover, as the discussion of "Social Darwinism" will make clear, Spencer's emphasis on *laissez faire* could be cited against reformers, and his emphasis on the survival of the fittest admirably suited the needs of the great captains of industry, who were crushing the little fellows when these vainly tried to compete with them.

The influence of the idea of evolution on the study of history was, in the nature of the case, bound to be quickly felt, for history dealt with the past, with origins, and with development. Before Darwin and Spencer, men like Bancroft, Parkman, and Motley had seen an orderly progress in the development of modern civilization and had ascribed this largely to the superiority of certain peoples and institutions in the competition with inferior ones. Fiske, whom Huxley advised to make historical writing the vehicle for promoting the doctrine of evolution, carried this conception even further. He traced the evolutionary development not only of language but of the Anglo-Saxon people from earlier stocks, and he likewise taught that the political superiority of this people explained its contributions to such institutions as the town meeting and the federal type of organization. Convinced that historical changes, like physical ones, conformed to fixed and ascertainable laws, Fiske continued to relate American institutions to a process of political development that had been going on from the earliest phases. What he did on a popular level, Herbert Baxter Adams and his students at Johns Hopkins did in learned monographs that traced certain American institutions back to their "beginnings" in the German primeval forests. The work of John W. Burgess at Columbia illustrated the same tendency, and also showed how evolutionary ideas could be combined with the Hegelianism so influential among American thinkers.

In a more philosophic vein Henry Adams opened his course on mediæval history at Harvard with primitive man and sought to find in evolution the law of history which Fiske and the Johns Hopkins group supposed they had discovered. Although one of his students, J. Lawrence Laughlin, believed that Henry Adams throughout his career actually insisted that human history must be treated as an evolution, this was

Pointing out that the conception of human behavior tacitly or implicitly held by economic theorists was sadly outdated, Veblen contended that men are primarily creatures of instinct and habit, rather than hedonistic calculation, and that instincts have remained an almost constant factor whereas habits have undergone a cumulative development. If modern economic life was to be understood, he went on, its evolution in terms of the cumulative development of habits and institutions, economic and otherwise, must be investigated. Veblen showed how the daily discipline of tending machines, competing for prestige, and making money had produced changes in the inherited habit patterns of earlier generations, and how these interacted with the more nearly constant instincts. The Darwinian conception of causation—the process of cumulative change—was taken over by Veblen after he pointed out that existing academic economics, retaining antiquated anthropological and psychological preconceptions, were largely rationalizations of myths no longer functional to a machine and a pecuniary culture. As an evolutionary social philosopher, he saw throughout the history of civilization a conflict between the predatory and the industrious, a conflict that shifted its forms from the naked force and fraud of the pirate chieftain, the robber baron, the captain of industry, to the ingenuity with which the financial magnate clothed his interest with ethics by identifying it with the general interest.

In more orthodox economic quarters the Spencerian conceptions of laissez faire, progress, and the survival of the fittest were frankly appealed to as a rationale for the operations of the titans of industry. In the *Popular Science Monthly*, the organ in which Edward Youmans popularized Spencerianism, appeared articles condemning socialism and trade unionism on the score that such aberrations clasped rigid fetters on the natural process of economic life. Abram Hewitt, an industrialist of power, observed that "the industrial world has been steadily moving during the present century in the right direction for the welfare of mankind, and the disturbances which have occurred have been necessary incidents of a beneficent evolution in the steady advance in the wages of labor and in the distribution of the proceeds of industry upon the basis of equality and justice."<sup>3</sup>

Andrew Carnegie, who was convinced that "all is well since all grows better," at the same time welcomed the conditions imposed by nature

<sup>3</sup> Allan Nevins, *Abram S. Hewitt: with Some Account of Peter Cooper* (Harper & Row, 1935), 133.

thought also began to affect criminology. Concepts of heredity and environment were introduced in the study of "the Jukes," a family to which was attached a notorious record of crime, pauperism, and disease. The conclusion in this study was that heredity depends on the permanence of the environment, that a change in environment may produce an entire change in the career and in the actual character of the individual. The administration of criminal justice was, then, to be governed by these concepts; this was the implication.

Political science also came within the evolutionary orbit. The older view of a static state and of eternal verities in politics gave way to organic and relativist ideas. The conception of the state as an artificial and deliberate creation, of something which could be made and unmade at will, was now contrasted with the idea that the state, being a slow accumulation, could be altered only slightly and very gradually. We shall see, in discussing the defense of existing arrangements by conservatives, that this doctrine was a comfortable one, useful in opposing radical demands for an abrupt departure from state noninterference in economic activities. But radicals also delighted in pointing out what they regarded as inconsistency on the part of conservatives who, having admitted that political forms had evolved, set themselves against any further evolution.

The conception of the slow growth of political institutions was reinforced by the doctrine of evolution through struggle and adaptation. It was probably the brilliant English conservative, Walter Bagehot, who first clearly and thoroughly applied to the state the doctrine of evolution by group struggle. *Physics and Politics* (1873) pictured an early age of conflict (the state-making age) in which various groups with different "cakes of custom" struggled to make dominant a preferred procedure. The contests and wars that marked this state-making age at length gave way to the age of discussion, in which the "cakes of custom" were broken and further progress made possible. Woodrow Wilson, who wrote two essays on Bagehot, was greatly influenced by him. Indeed, Wilson's conviction that the parliamentary and democratic political types, involving discussion as they did, must not be obliterated by the retrogressive type of force states, was to bear practical consequences.

Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson's rival, apologist that he was for the use of force, opposed such a position. In *The Strenuous Life*, written shortly after the Spanish-American War, he declared that "in this world a nation that has trained itself to a career of unwarlike and iso-

In due time the concept of cultural evolution was subjected to serious criticism, which resulted in the modification of the earlier position. Anthropologists, using the scientific fact-finding technique of the field survey, showed that even in primitive societies sudden change, or even a religious or social cataclysm, was not unknown. The newly acquired facts simply did not square with the concept of uniformity and of progressive stages of development. Regression was common, and culture seldom advanced in all respects. The evolutionists' conception of separate cultures developing in a void was answered in part by the so-called diffusionists and more persuasively by the advocates of convergence. Boas and his school found that cultural similarities developed or converged in two or more places out of conditions or features at one time dissimilar. Even though cultural evolution was thus refined, modified, and in many cases overthrown altogether, anthropologists continued, under the impetus of evolutionary influence, to search for causes and effects in the historic process, and to see that among past events only those carrying over into the future may truly be regarded as significantly historical.

The sociologists were concerned with many of the same problems as the anthropologists and like them were greatly influenced by evolutionary thought. Both Darwin and Spencer carried great weight, however different were the interpretations of their work. William Graham Sumner at Yale, accepting Spencer's basic position, taught persuasively that social evolution is a more or less automatic process, virtually unamenable to social control and direction. Moreover, he held to the Darwinian idea that, like organic evolution, social evolution is a blind struggle in which even the most skillfully planned arrangements are crushed ruthlessly if they fail to meet the inscrutable requirements of the struggle for survival. In 1907 he published *Folkways*, a notable study in which man was pictured as being guided in the selection or rejection of certain types of conduct by instincts inherited from his animal ancestors which had proved to be useful in the struggle for survival. Sumner went on to show that folkways or group habits were gradually transformed into mores when they reached the level of conscious reflection and were viewed as well suited, if not necessary, for the security of the group. It was this general doctrine which he used to oppose reform measures, socialism, and, indeed, any serious modification of *laissez faire*.

Lester Frank Ward, although far from approving the *laissez-faire* implications of the type of social evolution Sumner stood for, was like his

the fittest. It is clear that this doctrine permeated much of the thought of those who applied evolution to social problems. Social Darwinists cited not only the alleged approval of Darwin himself but, somewhat more appropriately, that of Spencer. An imposing company of other authorities was unequivocally cited in support of the concept of social struggle. Sir Henry Maine's *Popular Government* referred to the struggle for existence as "that beneficent private war which makes one man strive to climb on the shoulders of another and remain there through the law of the survival of the fittest." Gumpłowicz, a Polish sociologist, influenced Ward, Small, and other Americans by his conception of a "war of races." Ruskin, Kingsley, and Carlyle, with their sentimental but attractive romanticizing of the "will to power" and "the cult of force," were appealed to in support of the doctrine, as were the English hereditarians, Galton and Pearson. Haeckel and Nietzsche were great names to the Social Darwinists. Even William James regarded war or its "equivalent" as a biological or sociological necessity since "our ancestors have bred pugnacity into our bone and marrow and thousands of years of peace won't breed it out of us." A subsequent discussion of war and imperialism will reveal the extent to which Social Darwinism figured in the defense of these institutions.

Although Darwin was influenced by Malthus, who had seen in war and famine nature's means for eliminating some in the competition for limited resources, it appears that he himself never lent much countenance to the sweeping applications of his theories to social problems. At least he expressed hearty sympathy for the sustained efforts of Charles Loring Brace, an American disciple, to relieve human suffering through beneficent social action. Even Spencer, while insisting that war had played a major role in social evolution in the past, believed that in the present industrial society war was an ineffective instrument for accomplishing further evolution.

The first criticisms of Social Darwinism in the name of Darwin's own teachings seem to have been made in 1880 by a Russian zoologist, Kessler, and to have been developed somewhat later by Kropotkin, who saw in organic evolution an even more important factor than struggle, that of mutual aid. If mutual aid had enabled individuals and species in the animal and human worlds to survive in a measure greater than struggle had, the whole basis of Social Darwinism fell to the ground. Kropotkin visited the United States in 1897 and again in 1901 and did

and the rich. "Abolish poverty, transform deficit into surplus, fill depletion with energy, and the ascribed heredity of the poor will vanish with its causes." Since struggle breeds emotion not strength, since it lowers man's tone and throws him back to primitive conditions, it cannot, he urged, be regarded as a cause of the improvements attributed to natural conditions or natural selection. Patten insisted that "nature will care for progress if men will care for reform." He contended that there can be no progress without an acquired equality, and that the proper utilization of resources through scientific knowledge makes this acquired equality a possibility. All this pointed to the welfare economics which was at length to become the basis of daring thought and experimentation.

While Patten was criticizing Social Darwinism in terms of economic theory, the American disciples of Kropotkin and Tolstoy, men like Ernest Crosby, were showing not only its unscientific but its un-Christian and unethical character. Before the outbreak of World War I Margaret Sanger was turning from muckraking and socialist activities to the European pioneers of birth control in her search for a realistic method of combating not only the doctrine of Social Darwinism but unhappiness and a desperate fatalism in millions of families among the poor.

Thus the speculative souls who in the name of science diagnosed the nature of the mind, of thought, of ideas, and of society varied considerably in the particular implications of science which they chose to emphasize. But in spite of these variations, no one on the eve of World War I could doubt that the advancing spirit and technique of science had brought great changes in the older concepts of the nature of things. Some of this awareness of change was beginning to reach into the popular consciousness. The road was at last open to new vistas of the mind and of society, vistas that suggested that they were far less secure, far less absolute, far less static than men and women had long assumed. These vistas also suggested that men and women could make society and indeed nature itself more congenial to their taste and their needs, that they could mold them in ways that even the Utopians had not conjured up in their fondest dreams. Of course, even the idealists knew that science could not alone banish all that stood in the way of realizing these dreams. But the time was one of optimism.

ticeship system of training doctors and lawyers to reliance on the professional school, in the new type of foundation for the promotion of learning, in the graduate faculties with well-equipped laboratories and libraries, fellowships, and research seminars, and in the swiftly growing number of professional organizations.

A number of factors were responsible for these changes. Some of them have already been taken into account: for example, the presence of scholarly immigrants with highly specialized intellectual skills. The growing custom of organizing interests and activities on a national scale also partly explains the appearance of many new national organizations of experts, organizations which could function tellingly by reason of much-improved means of communication. The tendency toward professionalization and specialization in the intellectual sphere also reflected the feeling that in a society that was becoming ever more interdependent and complex the efforts of individual scholars had to be coordinated and reinforced.

But scholars would not have organized and zealously attended the annual meetings of their learned societies or published their technical monographs had not the new urban and industrial civilization made all this specialization and professionalization possible. Money would not have poured into institutions for the advancement of knowledge had not the economy of the nation developed to the point which permitted it and made it seem necessary and good. Expanding industry, commerce, and finance needed the help of technical experts in chemistry, physics, engineering, biology, and economics. In the cities, problems of transportation, housing, charity, utilities, and finance, to name only a few, called for the specialized services of economists, political scientists, and sociologists. The problems of rural life, many of which were related to the growth of industry and of cities, required attention from specialists in plant bacteriology and soil chemistry, rural economics and sociology. All of these needs functioned in a culture marked by a great faith in the power of knowledge to provide answers and solve problems.

### The Impact of German Scholarship

In his baccalaureate address at the University of Michigan in 1905, President James B. Angell called attention to an important change which had taken place during the last fifty years in the intellectual ideals American scholars and university students were taught to hold dear. A

In every field scholarship was influenced by the German university ideal. Long before the great migration of American students German theological scholarship, based on the conviction that through textual criticism and auxiliary disciplines man might come to the true meaning of the sacred texts, had begun to affect theological circles in the United States. Professor Moses Stuart at Andover first opened to his fellow American scholars the rich treasures of German Biblical scholarship. He was supported by Henry Boynton Smith of Amherst, by Theodore Parker, and by a later generation of scholars trained in German centers of learning. Now, with the increasing drift of young men to that country's universities, every field of intellectual endeavor felt the impact of German scholarship. George Herbert Palmer, Josiah Royce, George Sylvester Morris, and George H. Howison brought back zeal for German idealistic philosophy and the technique for its study. The growing autonomy of psychology, for which German scholars—above all Wundt—were responsible, similarly resulted in the launching of that new discipline in America; men like William James, G. Stanley Hall, Joseph Jastrow, William L. Bryan, James McKeen Cattell, and E. L. Titchener set up psychological laboratories in which the study of the mind was pursued with relatively objective techniques. In philological studies the German influence was likewise far reaching. The minute preoccupation with textual criticism and the use of the methods and findings of the archeologist and comparative ethnologist brought in a new era in that field. To the older German-trained classicists—Gildersleeve, Lane, Woolsey, and Whitney—was added a new group, trained in the latest and most refined techniques of classical archeology and philology. Minton Warren of Johns Hopkins was typical of these scholars.

Americans also discovered new techniques in German scientific laboratories which put an indelible stamp on American biology and physics. Germany was the scene of much of the most precise demonstration of basic aspects of the Darwinian theory. The work of Koch in developing Pasteur's discovery of disease-producing bacteria was hardly less significant. To the authoritative work in physics associated with the names of Hertz and Helmholtz, German scholarship added, in 1900, the revolutionary quantum theory of Planck; by 1905 Einstein had advanced the theory of relativity which, with the quantum theory, materially modified Newtonian physics.

Again, fields of knowledge which had little of the scientific spirit, such as education, were in Germany discovered to be susceptible to some of



aspects of American university life, German influence was direct and important.

### The Organization of Research and Scholarship

The zeal for organization and systematization of intellectual life made itself felt in America in the establishment of graduate study in the arts and sciences, in the beginnings of research at a few of the professional schools of law and medicine, and in the multiplication of agencies for the promotion of original research. Advanced study in a few fields had been begun at Yale, and perhaps in other institutions, before 1870. But this did not amount to much. About that year Yale reorganized graduate study, and Harvard began systematically to provide facilities for advanced work. The seminar method, which Henry Adams introduced at Harvard and Charles K. Adams began at Michigan, was readily adopted as the logical means for advanced instruction in research methods. Candidates for the Ph.D. degree, which Yale had first granted in 1861, began to appear. A quarter of a century after the degree was first granted, requirements for it became more or less standardized.

Meanwhile the greatest impetus to graduate study came from the Johns Hopkins University which Daniel Coit Gilman launched at Baltimore in 1876. From the start this was a center for research and advanced study. Both in the academic fields and in medicine the spirit of original investigation prevailed, for everything was arranged to promote that end. The success of Johns Hopkins greatly stimulated Harvard to give more thought and larger resources to graduate study, and the influence of the institution at Baltimore profoundly affected advanced work in all other American institutions. By 1880 Columbia has established the Faculty of Political Science. Eight years later G. Stanley Hall opened Clark University which, like Johns Hopkins, was devoted to training for research. Thanks to the administrative genius and imagination of President Harper, the University of Chicago, richly endowed by John D. Rockefeller, was able from the start to give much attention to graduate study. Even the larger and better-established state universities convinced their legislatures of the importance of research; before the end of the century Michigan, Wisconsin, and California had entered on their careers as graduate centers.

ment of the insane, boards of health, and statistical techniques for census-taking. By the 1870s the need for more specialized professional organizations was keenly felt.

The precedent set by the statisticians in 1839, the ethnologists and orientalist in 1842, the geographers in 1852, and the etymologists in 1859 was rapidly acted on in the 1870s and 1880s by an increasing number of specialists who formed their own learned organizations. In 1869 the American Philological Association met for the first time; ten years later the Archaeological Institute of America was established; and two years later the American School of Classical Studies at Athens opened. The Modern Language Association, organized in 1883, testified to the advance of special interest in its field. In 1884 the American Historical Association began its activities, and the following year the American Economic Association took shape. So marked was the specialization in the social studies field that early in the twentieth century the political scientists and sociologists formed their own organizations, and so did specialists in international law.

Even in the more precisely defined fields the rise of specialists led to the subdivision of labors; thus in 1888 the American Society for Church History was organized, to be followed in 1897 by the American Irish Historical Association, and by a dozen or more similar interest groups. The American Psychological Association was established in 1892, nine years before the American Philosophical Association was founded.

The organization, professionalization, and specialization of scholarship through learned societies went on apace. At least 79 local and national learned societies were formed in the 1870s, 121 in the 1880s, and 45 in the 1890s. In 1908 the *Handbook of Learned Societies* listed 120 national and some 550 local societies (including, it is true, such unusual ones as the American Mosquito Extermination Society). The tendency toward further breakdowns in specialized organization went on unabated. In 1915, however, the more general interests of scholars in higher education found expression in the newly formed American Association of University Professors, which was designed to promote higher standards of teaching, scholarship, and research, and to protect academic freedom.

Learned societies broke down the isolation of scholars by bringing them together for annual meetings. But they promoted investigation in many other ways. They stimulated the preparation and publication

## Accomplishments and Criticisms

At the turn of the century certain scholars and scientists were moved to appraise American contributions to knowledge, and the character of American research and learning. In a much-discussed article in the *North American Review* in 1902 Carl Snyder pointed to the fact that anesthesia had been discovered in America; that Joseph Henry was with Faraday the codiscoverer of electrical induction; that Dräper had first photographed stars; that Newton, Pickering, Burnham, and Keeler had put American astronomy in the front rank; that Hill, Rowland, and Michelson had become world authorities in mathematics and physics; and that Cope, Leidy, and Marsh had helped to establish the truth of evolution. He pointed with some pride to the fact that, except for Lord Kelvin, Simon Newcomb was the only English-speaking associate of the French Academy and that Josiah Willard Gibbs had helped lay the foundations of the new field of thermodynamics and physical chemistry.

Snyder nevertheless concluded that in the scientific world America's position was an inferior one; Americans had made no discoveries comparable to those of Helmholtz, Clerk-Maxwell, Hertz, Pasteur, Lister, Koch, Behring, Sir William Crookes, J. J. Thomson, and Berthelot. American scholarship, in the estimation of another observer, Charles S. Slichter of the University of Wisconsin, had chiefly contented itself with filling in details within the larger framework made by European masters. None of the great scientific achievements of the century—the theory of evolution, the atomic structure of matter, the existence of ether and the undulatory theory of light and electricity, the principles of electromagnetic induction and electrolytic action, the discovery of microorganisms and the concept of conservation of energy—none of these was the work of Americans. In the humanities American scholarship, it was said, was matter-of-fact, statistical, archeological, hard, thin, and dry. According to Paul Shorey, a University of Chicago classicist, American scholarship in this field never rose to the comprehensiveness and the generous *élan* of the German; it lacked the grace and charm of the French, the restrained emotion and finished eloquence of the English.

These evaluations underestimated the value and originality of American contributions to knowledge. Yet in a broad sense they contained a

no doubt, Lowell remarked in 1903, that the division of labor and specialization had been important elements in the world's progress. Yet these things might be carried too far, and if specialized learning was permitted to become an isolated, narrow eddy in the great stream of human thought and culture, it would defeat its own purposes.

A few years later Professor Paul Shorey similarly suggested that we might have paid too high a price for German scholarship (or, for that matter, he continued, for that of France and England). Until American scholarship ceased trying merely to imitate that of Europe, until our scholars were trained at home "in an environment and by methods that shall subject the form and relate the content of their knowledge to the high tradition of their own language, literature, and inherited culture," they could not correct the shortcomings of American scholarship or grow to full stature. Thus cultural nationalism, which had been invoked throughout the nineteenth century to explain the shortcomings in the life of the mind and to stimulate Americans to greater literary and scientific achievements, continued to figure in the evaluations of the products of our scholarship.

If the lack of self-reliance explained, in the minds of some, the deficiencies in American intellectual life, the existence of democracy here seemed to others a more basic factor. Simon Newcomb, for example, believed that if there were an aristocracy of scholars, if men of letters and science were honored as they were in Europe, their achievements would be far more important than in fact they were.

In response to such criticisms democratic scholars maintained that our entire history proved the contrary; democracy, they insisted, admits of sufficient refinement, and the evils noted by aristocratic critics of American intellectual life were merely incidental to certain phases of our development and by no means essential. Some went so far as to say that the enrichment of American intellectual achievements required not less but more democracy. American scholars, it was held, must be less neutral than they had traditionally been in the great struggles of the common man for a larger measure of justice and well-being. If research were employed consciously in the solution of social, economic, and political problems, if it were explicitly put to work for the common good, American science and scholarship would be able to boast more originality and significance on the intellectual level itself.

The obligation of the scholar to the commonweal was ably argued

years steady progress has been made toward bridging the gap, toward extending to the people a larger measure of opportunity for taking part on some level in the life of the mind. Progress was particularly marked in the final quarter of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth; the gains made in this era rivaled those of the pre-Civil War period when the penny newspaper, cheap magazines and books for the untutored, the common school awakening, the expansion of academies and colleges, and the lyceum movement did so much to democratize intellectual life.

Many factors explain the headway made. Among them was the zeal of such men as Edward Youmans for popularizing the rapidly developing fields of natural science. It will be recalled that Youmans was responsible for the appearance of the great scientific classics of Europe in an inexpensive form, that he prepared a series of scientific textbooks which popularized great bodies of material, and that the *Popular Science Monthly* became under his editorship an important channel for disseminating knowledge of new scientific achievements. Gifted lecturers like John Fiske helped to popularize the theory of evolution.

The movement for popularizing knowledge also owed something to English example. British precedents led in the 1880s to the beginning of university extension. Herbert Baxter Adams of Johns Hopkins, whose contacts with English scholars were close, began a crusade to bring university learning to noncollege people through lectures and correspondence courses. In this leaders in the public library movement provided much support. Within a few years President Harper of the University of Chicago, who had acquired a rich background at Chautauqua Lake for this sort of adult education, organized university extension on a sound basis. Soon afterward state universities, eager to democratize higher education, took up the work. In 1914 the University of Wisconsin, a leader in this crusade of service, boasted an extension enrollment of over seven thousand men and women.

An indigenous American faith in the desirability and necessity of applying the democratic principle to the intellectual life continued to bulk large among the forces back of all the emphasis on popularizing knowledge. The lyrical faith in education as the best means of promoting equality of opportunity was a main cause for the increasing public responsibility for schools and for the vast expansion of other agencies for popularizing knowledge. The traditional argument that mass education

as a school, with educating agencies and influences at work from the earliest moment to the day of death, agencies and influences applied by and in behalf of each individual, through life, according to capacities and conditions.

The recognition of the obvious inequalities of opportunity for obtaining book knowledge stimulated efforts to bring light and learning to rural folk. This in part explains the enthusiasm for the traveling circuit lyceums and Chautauquas. Commercial though these agencies were, many of the promoters and "entertainers" regarded themselves as missionaries of culture among country people. The phenomenal success of these organizations testified to the yearning of rural dwellers for inspiration, glimmerings of the remote world of ideas, and, of course, diversion and entertainment.

The literature for the promotion of the public library movement likewise made much of the duty of bringing sound knowledge to the toiling masses. Thus the Chicago Public Library urged public support on the ground that it provided the city's workers with "the opportunity of that mental improvement denied them by a hard fortune, or extreme penury" and salvaged them from "the haunts of vice and folly." In the depths of the depression of 1893 the argument was heard that "if society cannot provide work for all, the idle, chronic or temporary, are much safer with a book in the library than elsewhere." The public library, it was urged, would help the wage earner regain some of the ground lost in the battle of life when necessity compelled him to leave the schoolroom for the factory. In arguments for the support of both the public library and the high school it was frequently maintained that democratic institutions and ideas could be preserved from demagoguery, communism, and other subversive doctrines only through larger facilities for a sound understanding of the true principles of economics and the American way of life.

The movement for the popularization of culture also profited from the time-honored devotion to self-improvement. Self-culture continued to be esteemed as a means of personal growth. It was this concept which led many farmers' wives to make endless sacrifices in order to "take in" all the "culture" offered in the humid tents of the traveling Chautauquas. It was this which led the Scottish errant-philosopher, the gifted Thomas Davidson, in 1898 to begin his pioneer experiment in teaching the literary and philosophical classics and the theory of evolution to workers

without taking economic factors into account. The steady advance in the income of a large segment of the middle classes, accompanied as this was by added leisure, made possible the pursuit of learning for its own sake or for advancement in the sharply competitive world of business and the professions. Thus a market existed for the great variety of commercial ventures with educational and pseudo-educational appeals.

In 1868 James Redpath, a Scottish immigrant with a long journalistic career on the *New York Tribune*, reorganized the enfeebled old lyceums into a highly commercialized lecture bureau. Redpath paid as much as \$250 or \$500 for a single appearance of any figure who could bring in the gate receipts. On this circuit Gough, the temperance advocate, Nast, the cartoonist, Russell Conwell, the evangelist of self-help, and John L. Stoddard, the travel lecturer, appeared for the edification and amusement of Redpath's patrons. In general, this commercialized series, and those succeeding it, emphasized less the informative lecture of the old-time lyceum and went in more for the humorous, the dramatic, and the recreational type of program. Redpath insisted that entertainment must always be clean, free from anything that might endanger public welfare, and congenial to the basic American devotion to religious observance, the sanctity of the home, the spirit of neighborliness, and the Constitution.

What was true of the post-Civil War commercial "lyceums" was no less true of the circuit Chautauquas which, it must be remembered, had no official connection with the philanthropic Chautauqua Assembly and Literary and Scientific Reading Circle centering at Chautauqua Lake, New York. The commercially organized traveling Chautauqua was a combination of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau and Bishop Vincent's summer lectures and study courses. In 1903 Keith Vawter, an agent of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, organized a traveling "Chautauqua" which took inspirational lecturers and musical and dramatic talent to towns all over the land. Other Chautauqua circuits quickly appeared. Until the movies, radio, and the automobile ruined this venture in the years after World War I it brought information, inspiration, and amusement to villagers and farm people hungry for culture and diversion.

The commercial motive was more blatantly operative in the correspondence schools, which catered to the desire for specialized training in the trades, industries, and professions as well as to the yearning for culture for its own sake and for the advantages it presumably offered in the hard ascent of the ladder of success. In the late 1880s Thomas J.

The commercial motive, tempered though it might be by other factors, was of inestimable importance in the vast expansion of the newspaper and periodical press. Magazines designed to cater to average and below-average tastes and newspapers edited for the masses multiplied and their circulation increased by almost incredible leaps and bounds. It would be impossible to list all the new ventures or to indicate the volume of their circulation. But a word must be said of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, which Cyrus Curtis began in 1883, and of which Edward W. Bok took the editorial helm six years later. Selling for only ten cents a copy, the *Ladies' Home Journal* dealt with household concerns, with advice to the lovelorn, and with the growing civic interests of women—interests which Bok, indeed, did something to stimulate.

The popular muckraking magazines were fathered by Samuel S. McClure when, in 1893, he launched *McClure's*. Talented writers and illustrators found lucrative employment on these magazines, which became tremendously popular in the first decade of the twentieth century when they went in for "the literature of exposure"; corruption in city governments, in state and federal affairs, and in business was mercilessly revealed to the delight and enlightenment of the vast constituency which eagerly devoured their *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitans*, *Forums*, *Americans*, *Everybody's*, *Pearson's*.

The man in the shop, the woman in the kitchen, and the girl and boy in the office, the store, the factory, and the street read newspapers as well as magazines. Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst achieved enormous success with newspapers for the masses. This success rested in part on the fact that popular reforms were championed but even more on the emotional appeal of sensational events and human interest stories. Pulitzer and Hearst had their imitators, and from the vast increase both in the number of newspapers and in their circulation it was clear that the plain people were reading in an unprecedented fashion. What they read and how it affected them, as well as the general tone of American intellectual life, is another story.

### Popularization: Its Effects

It is not easy to assess the influence of the movement to extend some part of the intellectual life to the great masses of Americans. Some



form shows that New York audiences in the post-Civil War decades were more sophisticated in their tastes than in the mid-century and that scientific lectures were more specialized and exact in character than elementary discourses on scientific subjects in the 1850s had been. Free public libraries reached many who could not afford lecture fees. It would be hard to overemphasize the significance of such men as Enoch Pratt of Baltimore, Samuel J. Tilden of New York, and above all, of course, Andrew Carnegie. In 1876 the American Library Association was organized; as a result, library techniques and services were presently much improved.

The Chautauqua Assembly and Literary and Scientific Reading Circles introduced their disciples, in the words of George Herbert Palmer of Harvard, to "Round Tables upon Milton, Temperance, Geology, the American Constitution, the Relations of Science and Religion, and the Doctrine of Rent." The Chautauqua reading courses brought into the homes of their constituency literary and philosophical classics, together with standard works on the social and physical sciences. Newer points of view and findings in the world of knowledge were also surprisingly well represented on the required and recommended reading lists. Distinguished scholars lectured at the Chautauqua Assembly during the summer season. Among them were Professor Mahaffy, the well-known Greek scholar of Trinity College, Dublin; Herbert Baxter Adams, the Johns Hopkins historian; and Richard T. Ely, fresh from his economic studies at the German universities.

William James, who also participated at one of the summer assemblies, was amused, it is true, by the many "earnest and helpless minds" he encountered, by the lack of any epicureanism or sense of humor, and by the dull if high tone of morality. He was likewise somewhat shocked at the premium which Chautauqua necessarily put on a certain shallowness and glibness. But like his colleague at Harvard, Josiah Royce, he saw great value in such popularized learning. Royce properly realized that even though enthusiasm and memory were emphasized at the expense of rational intelligence, nevertheless Chautauqua set in motion minds that had been dull and lifeless, that it gave hundreds of thousands a glimpse of the intellectual world beyond their petty personal and domestic affairs.

The intellectual tone of the traveling commercial Chautauquas was on a lower level than that of Bishop Vincent's philanthropic and high-

ing popularity. Although discussions of sex could be found under a few well-veiled titles, such as Fowler's *Science of Life*, sex, which was still generally identified with sin, was largely absent from the volumes obtainable from Sears, Roebuck.

If one leaves aside the unmeasurable but obviously important effects which all the popularization of knowledge had on individual lives and asks what impact it had on American intellectual life as a whole, he can do little more than speculate. It is possible that, as George Herbert Palmer feared, the university extension movement, in putting new burdens on already overburdened professors, lowered the level of scholarship in certain universities and decreased the amount and quality of research. But this does not seem to have been generally true. It is clear that American writers for the first time found a sufficiently large audience to make literature a really profitable profession. It is also clear that much writing, whether in books, magazines, or newspapers, was geared to the taste or training of the masses; this meant that "standards" in the traditional sense were lowered or ignored.

On the other hand, the gains were impressive. Of these none was more important than the effect which all this popularization had on the attitude of the plain people toward learning and culture. Traditionally suspicious of it, perhaps because they did not understand it and knew they could not partake of it, the common men and women now tended to become less hostile toward the scholar and the specialist. For all who subscribed to the democratic faith, the narrowing of the gulf separating the plain folk from the scholars was a rich and significant gain. In any case, the sober judgment of an English scholar who knew America well possessed a large measure of truth: "The average of knowledge is higher, the habit of reading and thinking more generally diffused, than in any other country."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (The Macmillan Company, 1888), II, 2.

workers. These ideas found expression not only in lobbying activities and at the polls but in books, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, lectures, and speeches.

In the decades between the Civil War and World War I the ideology of protest and reform became broader in scope and increasingly important in influence. Even in the earlier decades large numbers of country people heatedly discussed ideas of reform in the widening circles of Granges and Farmers' Alliances and in the conventions of the Greenback and Populist parties. Judged by their participation in union activity, only a small minority of factory workers, miners, and railway operatives joined in the movement of protest. Yet the rapid growth of the Knights of Labor, and subsequently of the American Federation of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World, indicated that laborers were thinking more and more about the distribution of industrial profits and even about the nature of capitalist economy. After the turn of the century no other intellectual interest excited more general enthusiasm than protest against political, social, and economic ailments and grievances.

One evidence of the growing interest in protest and reform was the appearance of an ever larger number of novelists, poets, publicists, ministers, journalists, and social workers devoted to the idea of improving the social order. Small in numbers in the 1870s and 1880s, this group of intellectuals was considerably augmented in the last decades of the century. Before the outbreak of World War I liberal intellectuals constituted an impressive company in American letters and scholarship. The concept of social justice and of revolt against the practices of corporate wealth found able champions in social workers like Robert A. Woods, Jane Addams, and Florence Kelley; in journalists like Henry George, John Swinton, Benjamin O. Flower, Jacob Riis, and Lincoln Steffens; and in literary men such as William Dean Howells, Hamlin Garland, Edwin Markham, and Robert Herrick. Ministers—Josiah Strong, W. D. P. Bliss, Washington Gladden, and George D. Herron, to cite only a few names—and scholars like Edward Bemis, Richard T. Ely, and President Van Hise played leading roles in formulating protest and reform thought. The wide vogue of the muckraking magazines in the first decade of the twentieth century and the influence of such figures as Tom Johnson, Robert M. La Follette, William J. Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson also testified to the popularity of revolt and social justice in the minds of the American people.

This growing interest of men and women in social amelioration re-

the causes of social ailments, summarized views widely held in protest and reform circles: in the "unhallowed temple of Mammon men are taught how to frame plausible theories in defense of gambling, speculation, 'corners,' 'trusts,' 'combinations,' 'pools,' briberies, railway wrecking, betrayals of official obligations, adulterations of food, fraudulent manufacturing, dealing in things injurious to health and public morals, and similar methods of gaining wealth by wronging other men."<sup>3</sup> Frank Norris in his novels, *The Octopus* and *The Pit*, told stories of small business men driven to the wall by the tactics of great industrial and railway corporations, stories in part documented by Henry Demarest Lloyd and Ida Tarbell, pioneers in the journalistic literature of "exposure."

### The Theory of Individual Rights Underlying the Protests

A common theory underlay the ideas of reform, even the most extreme. This was the old theory of human rights—the idea that the individual has a natural right to an existence worthy of a human being, that institutions and social arrangements are but means to the realization of this right. After quoting the Declaration of Independence on the natural rights of men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, Henry George declared that "these rights are denied when the equal right to land—on which and by which men alone can live—is denied. Equality of political rights will not compensate for the denial of the equal right to the bounty of nature."<sup>4</sup> In much the same way General James Baird Weaver, a leading exponent of Populist philosophy, identified the fight against monopolies with the crusade the fathers had fought in 1776 for their natural rights. "Throughout all history we have had ample evidence that the new world is the theater upon which the great struggle for the rights of man is to be made, and the righteous movement now in progress should again forcibly remind us of our enviable mission, under Providence, among the nations of the earth."<sup>5</sup>

Even the minority among critics and reformers who looked forward to the reign of socialism justified their position on the basis of human rights.

<sup>3</sup> *The Methodist Review*, LXVIII (May, 1888), 453.

<sup>4</sup> Henry George, *Progress and Poverty* (San Francisco, 1879), 545.

<sup>5</sup> James B. Weaver, *A Call to Action* (Iowa Printing Co., Des Moines, 1892), 445.

Nature upon the happiness and advancement of man, particularly to create an artificial environment which shall serve the individual as well as the race, and tend to perpetuate noble types rather than those which are base."<sup>8</sup>

Faith in man's dignity and in his natural rights was a heritage of the Enlightenment. It was also a heritage of actual experience on American soil. The *philosophes* had emphasized man's power through reason to tear down dungeons and build mansions. The conquest of the American physical environment by individuals, families, and groups seemed in the minds of American men and women to be living evidence of human ability to do this very thing. The old American society of relatively equal opportunity was changing, but belief in the individual continued. In the words of the Populist spokesman, General Weaver, monopolies and corporate wealth might control "the articles which the plain people consume in their daily life" and cut off their accumulations, thus depriving them of "the staff upon which they fain would lean in their old age." But the people could "rise up and overturn the despoilers though they shake the earth by the displacement."<sup>9</sup>

The most commonly held theories of protest and reform accepted as a part of man's natural rights the main body of existing laws relative to the ownership, transmission, and distribution of property. These theories assumed that if no unfair or objectionable practices intervened, under these laws individuals would attain a state of well-being representing a high degree of social justice. Thus the individualism on which conservatives largely based their defense of the economic and social status quo served equally well the protestants against monopolies and corporate wealth. Populists and their intellectual heirs, the Progressives and the Wilsonian Democrats, alike assumed that the dissolution or public control of monopolies would restore the individual's opportunity to compete fairly for a decent living. Property rights of the individual were not under attack; the only thing under attack was the alleged unfair behavior of corporations that had hounded the little man and kept him from acquiring the livelihood and property to which he was entitled by natural right. The doctrine of protest was, in brief, essentially middle class in character.

Reformers believed that the desired social order of equal opportunity

<sup>8</sup> Edmond Kelly, *Government or Human Evolution*. (Longmans (David McKay Co.), 1900), I, 360.

<sup>9</sup> James B. Weaver, *op. cit.*, 393-394.

money possesses an intrinsic value which government cannot alter without injustice. According to this theory, the law of supply and demand answers all the needs of money regulation. As a result the government should never issue paper or coin irredeemable in gold, the necessary standard of exchange. This theory enjoyed the support of classical economists, of the financial and industrial groups whose interests it served, and of national law.

The debtor groups—farmers, workers, small business people, and many professional families—became convinced in the post-Civil War years that public policy based on the prevailing monetary theory was the major cause of their ills. In ever larger numbers they subscribed to an antithetical theory of money, the quantitative theory. This concept, which had a long history, had traditionally found favor among the debtor classes. In pre-Civil War years a group of obscure writers developed what had hitherto been a vague popular concept into a fairly elaborate monetary theory. The quantitative or legal-tender theory held that the value of money depends on the amount in circulation. Since gold and silver are commodities that fluctuate in value in relation to the amount in circulation, the government must regulate the per capita circulation in accordance with economic and social needs. In the opinion of legal-tender advocates, it must take from the bankers and their industrial allies the control of the currency and regulate it in the interest of the great mass of people. Then the grip of the nonproducing classes on the producing classes would be destroyed; land speculation would be impossible, pressure on debtors would be reduced, the small businessman would again enjoy a fair chance in the world of enterprise, and the income of the farmer and laborer would increase.

In the words of one of its earliest systematic advocates, Edward Kellogg, such a monetary theory would effect a social revolution. "Wealth, instead of being accumulated in a few hands, would be distributed among producers. Products would be owned by those who performed the labor, because the standard of distribution would nearly conform to the rights of man." This program for the abolition of poverty would not interfere with private property in production and business, or, indeed, with private enterprise itself. Its individualistic character was especially attractive to small entrepreneurs, who yearned for the freedom of opportunity of which they claimed the lords of wealth had robbed them in the name of free enterprise.

editions and by 1906 had probably been read by 6 million men and women. Its appeal lay partly in Henry George's passionate indictment of the "monopolization of the opportunities which nature freely offers to all," in the stirring pictures contrasting "The House of Have" with "The House of Want." Readers often knew from their own experience what George meant when he wrote of "all the dull, deadening pain, all the keen, maddening anguish" involved in the words "hard times." The appeal of *Progress and Poverty* lay also in the simplicity of the author's proposed remedy. In brief, a new system of land taxation promised to abolish large fortunes and to provide a decent and secure living for the plain people.

Through his own observations and experiences in California in the 1860s, rather than through the perusal of the writings of his many predecessors, Henry George came to the conclusion that as civilization advanced, poverty increased. "Where population is densest, wealth greatest, and the machinery of production and exchange most highly developed—we find the deepest poverty, the sharpest struggle for existence, and the most of enforced idleness."<sup>11</sup> The contrast between the destitution and the affluence of neighboring areas in New York City confirmed him in this belief; he had visited the eastern metropolis in 1869. The peculiar paradox of the advance of progress and poverty he attributed to two facts. In the first place, the high wages incident to a labor shortage in a new country were forced down as the region became settled and the labor supply abundant. In the second place, land monopolists, including railroad and speculative absentee owners, had seized upon the better, more accessible land in advance of settlement, land that was ultimately sold or rented to actual users at exorbitant profits. As the value of this land increased with "progress," or the incoming of people and the upbuilding of a civilization, poverty grew because the land monopolists kept the entire gain or rent for themselves. Thus the laborer and businessman alike, instead of enjoying their due share in the enlarged wealth of the community created by the community, were deprived of that share with resulting distress.

In place of the existing system of taxation George proposed a single tax on all increments in the value of land. This would merely allocate to the public, to all individuals, that part of the value of a given piece of land that the public, or all individuals, had created. George urged that

<sup>11</sup> Henry George, *op. cit.*, 6.

book, and its conclusions are widely accepted in the workingmen's creed." In his New York mayoralty campaign in 1886 Henry George enjoyed the support of both the trade unions and the socialists.

Although the ideas of Henry George aroused many plain people to passionate indignation against economic inequality, the single-tax doctrine did not win general acceptance and exerted little practical influence on land taxation. The interests of the small propertied class generally ran counter to his proposal to confiscate the unearned increment on land. Most farmers were cold toward the single-tax idea because farm profits and potential profits were dependent upon increasing land values. Moreover, the unearned increments of mines, real estate, and other landed properties were distributed in widely held insurance policies, stocks, bonds, and mortgages. Henry George in reality never understood the pervasive nature of capitalistic society. Consequently he provided for no adequate political means for effecting his program. Nor did he understand the obstacles in the way of mobilizing power behind a program that in effect would have entailed a virtual revolution against capitalism. His failure, like the failure of many other reformers in this period, arose from an overconfidence in the power and altruism of the individual and from an underestimate of the momentum and pervasiveness of corporate wealth.

## Proposals for Public Control

Among the proposals for the restoration of individual opportunity to the mass of the people the doctrine of breaking down or controlling monopolies enjoyed general popularity. Opposition to monopoly was rooted in English thought and law and had been reflected in the program of the Locofoco Democrats in Andrew Jackson's day. The rapid advance of monopolies during and immediately after the Civil War aroused bitter resentment in the minds of small businessmen, urban workers, and especially farmers. Throughout the western states farmers met on July 4, 1873, to listen to the reading of "The Farmers' Declaration of Independence." This stirring document condemned the "tyranny of monopoly" and demanded the dissolution or control of trusts by government action. Farmers also believed that the cooperative creameries, elevators,



also met with Populist approval. In short, a vast body of men and women in villages and on farms had come to believe that the modification of individual enterprise was the surest way to restore the freedom of opportunity associated with the past.

Many wage earners also sympathized with the idea of public control of business. Under the leadership of Samuel Gompers the American Federation of Labor was, it is true, shying away from the doctrinaire reform philosophies and the political action that earlier American labor leaders had espoused. But even the concentration of this body on building strong unions in order that these might control the labor market did not entirely blind it to the importance of government control over business, especially in matters directly affecting labor. Thus the labor movement supported the regulation of railway rates, an eight-hour day, and factory inspection by government authority. Urban labor by and large was to vote for Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson in return for their promise to subject business to a larger degree of public control through social legislation and the recognition of collective bargaining.

Intellectuals and philanthropists supported the growing idea of public control over business. In the 1880s a group of men and women, inspired by the example of Toynbee Hall in London and the rise of the Social Gospel, began to devote their talents and their lives to the improvement of living conditions and social relations in the slums of great cities. Such women as Maude Nathan, Josephine Shaw Lowell, and Florence Kelley not only supported the settlement-house idea but founded the Consumers' Leagues to persuade the public to purchase goods from factories and shops whose fair labor policies were not open to question. These leaders became increasingly convinced that there was need for more thoroughgoing measures. Thus they supported the idea of government control over labor policies, housing conditions, and municipal services as an effective program to improve the lot of the less well housed and the less well fed. In Cleveland and Toledo idealistic young lawyers and journalists like Frederic C. Howe, Brand Whitlock, and Newton D. Baker not only rallied to the support of reform mayors but insisted on the importance of municipal control or even ownership of basic services and utilities. In calling attention to the tie-up between business and corrupt politics, muckraking journalists also contributed to the conviction

brother, son, husband, father, fellow-member in one, is just by so many times individualized.<sup>14</sup>

Lloyd was not the first to expose corruption. Thomas Nast in his famous cartoons had opened to view the guilty Tweed Ring in New York City a full decade before Lloyd began his work. In California "Philosopher Pickett," known as a "crackpot" pamphleteer, had protested almost alone against the ruthless and corrupt exploitation of the state. Such publicists as Lord Bryce, E. L. Godkin, and Andrew D. White had spoken at length on public corruption. But Lloyd traced corruption to the doors of respectable businessmen, named names, cited authorities, and refused to pull his punches. Gradually he found that he was not alone. Enterprising publishers of widely read newspapers, Pulitzer, Hearst, and Scripps, were increasing the circulation of their journals by sensationally exposing the corrupt methods through which big business won favors from governments. In so doing these men were the successors of McClure, Walker, and Munsey, the greatest of the muckraking publishers in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Excesses and abuses were laid mercilessly bare by journalists employed to investigate the object of exposure: the Standard Oil Company, the insurance firms, the meat trust, the drug and food combinations, "the money trust," and government itself. The popularity of the literature of exposure was reflected in the geometrical increase in the circulation of the muckraking magazines. The graphic and sensational exposure of scandals in business and the high moral tone of most of the muckrakers had much to do with their vogue. So too did the long-mounting rage of the middle class at the malpractices of corporations in putting individuals, whether petty rivals or workers or consumers, at the mercy of the titans of industry and finance.

Muckraking popularized as nothing else had done the awareness of the power of corporations, their ruthlessness and antisocial practices, their corrupt relations with government. Not all the muckrakers explicitly demanded the extension of government control over corporations, but such extension was implicit in almost every muckraking article in *Collier's*, *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, the *American Magazine*, and *La Follette's Weekly*, to name only the best known. The fervor and sweep of the Progressivism of the older La Follette and the first Roosevelt can

<sup>14</sup> Henry Demarest Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (Harper & Row, 1894), 527, 534.

the Democratic leader extended the influence of "the people's lawyer" by enabling him officially to help interpret the law of the land.

### The Purification and Extension of Democracy

In a restricted political sense the Progressive movement emerged in the Republican party, but the pattern of thought exemplified in Roosevelt and La Follette also governed in considerable measure the thought of Bryan and, ultimately, of Wilson. Progressivism, as a body of loosely-tied-together and not always consistent ideas, appealed to an ever larger number of middle-class men and women, who felt that corporate wealth had come to control the government and that it threatened the whole scheme of values they cherished. From the Populists Progressive thought inherited the idea that monopolies must be dissolved or regulated and that the natural resources of the country in the remaining public lands must be conserved for the use of the people in future generations. The belief in social legislation also figured in Progressive philosophy. At least a few intellectuals, particularly Herbert Croly in *The Promise of American Life* (1909), argued strongly for enhancing the power of the national government through social planning for the general good.

One of the leading ideas shared by all Progressives was that the extension of political democracy could restore popular rights and general well-being. Virtually all Progressives assumed that corporate wealth had come to control the government—local, state, and federal—and that this control must be regained by the people. To insure the popular control of the government, they advocated various programs, some old, some native, some imported. The extension of the civil service, a measure which earlier liberals like George William Curtis, Carl Schurz, David A. Wells, Dorman Eaton, and E. L. Godkin had publicized, still found favor. The secret ballot and the short ballot, devices which Australians had promoted, and the initiative, referendum, and recall, practices well known in certain of the Swiss cantons, found their enthusiasts. The direct election of senators, the abolition of the electoral college, the restriction of a powerful and conservative judiciary by the recall of judges, the direct primary, and direct legislation had all been advanced in the days of the Populists. But it was not until the era of La Follette, Roosevelt, and Wilson that these formulas came to enjoy wide acclaim.

The general conviction that private interests corruptly controlled many

Southerners prevented Bryan and Wilson from demanding the extension of political democracy through the enfranchisement of southern Negroes.

The remaining limitation on political democracy—the general denial of suffrage to women—met with more widespread criticism in reform circles. Convinced that the vote of women workers would promote social legislation, the American Federation of Labor favored woman suffrage as early as 1886. The democratically minded Populists, desiring the support of the wives and daughters of farmers, also advocated it. The renewed campaign of the women suffragists themselves was testimony to the interrelated nature of reform ideology. Women identified their campaign with the movement to restore natural rights to all individuals, to provide equality of opportunity, to abolish political corruption, and to defeat “the interests.” The woman suffrage idea gained momentum as the movement made headway in Europe and individual states bestowed the vote on women. Theodore Roosevelt’s reform program in 1912 included a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution. But it took World War I with its need for the fully mobilized support of women to achieve victory.

Closely connected with the movement for the extension of political democracy through the enfranchisement of women was the antisaloon crusade. Largely but by no means exclusively supported by women, this crusade identified the liquor interests with political corruption. The ratification of the prohibition amendment was acclaimed as a great victory for purer politics and for the truly public control of political life.

## The Theory of Collectivist Protest

In the very years when moderate reformers were attempting to restore some part of the older individual dignity and opportunity within the existing political-economic structure, more radical reformers called for socialism. Although the doctrines of Marx and Engels had been in some small part introduced into American thought through the letters they contributed to the *New York Tribune* in the 1850s, the *Communist Manifesto* had been first published in English in the United States in the scandalous feminist and ultra-crusading magazine known as *Woodhull’s and Claflin’s Weekly*. In view of the questionable reputation of the two ladies for whom the *Weekly* was named and quixotic character

American leaders. Of these Eugene Debs, a railway union organizer and the dominant figure in the Pullman strike, was outstanding because of his "Americanism" and his attractive personality. The new movement, which took the name Socialist party, made phenomenal headway in spite of the vitriolic denunciations of de Leon and the persisting obstacles to the spread of socialist doctrine. The *Appeal to Reason*, edited at Girard, Kansas, reached many thousands of people in country and city alike, and the *Internationalist Socialist Review* provided a vehicle for the writings of a group of literary men and women who had become or were to become converts. Brilliant writers expounded socialist theory and practice. A. M. Simons interpreted American history from a Marxist point of view. Others publicized the socialist platitudes. Upton Sinclair and Jack London, in essays and novels, gave the cause additional prestige. By 1912 the party had learned to combine its revolutionary ideology with many of the traditional and idealistic values of American individualism. In that year it mustered almost a million votes in a presidential election in which two of the three major candidates bid impressively for radical support.

Although destined to make no such political showing as Marxian socialism did in the United States, the varieties of socialism stigmatized by the Marxists as Utopian nevertheless were far more to the taste of middle-class American professional men and women. The Utopian impulse in socialism expressed itself not as it had done in the 1840s in the advocacy of Fourieristic communities, but rather through literary mediums and religious channels. Virtually all of the forty-odd Utopian novels appearing between 1885 and 1900 and all of the writings of the Christian socialists repudiated the doctrine of class struggle and maintained that collectivism could be realized through education and political and religious appeals. Utopian and Christian socialists assumed that human nature is essentially good and reasonable and that the achievement of socialism through love is in full accord with God's law.

By far the most impressive and influential of the literary expressions of non-Marxist socialism was Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1887). The social ideas in this Utopian romance and in its sequel, *Equality* (1897), were simple enough. Competition as it existed in the American economic system was assumed to be merely the application of "the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning." But competition did not rule alone; coexistent with it was the law of the

life," resembled one of the basic assumptions of social Christianity. The idea that Christian duty requires the application of the law of love to everyday relationships was, of course, of long standing. So too was the related idea that the Kingdom of God is not merely in Heaven, but that it is to be realized, under God's will through sustained human effort, on earth itself. The note of social crisis, which was so often to be found in the thought of Christian Socialists, likewise had a long history. These general ideas seem first to have been comprehensively applied to the problems of modern industrial capitalism by Saint-Simon, who, early in the nineteenth century, insisted on the Christian duty of transforming competitive industrialism into a cooperative society. It will be recalled that many Americans in the 1840s greeted with enthusiasm the doctrines of the Utopian socialists and shared this general position.

It was not until the issues of industrialism became sharpened in the post-Civil War years that a well-formulated body of ideas emerged to stir the souls of Christians and to guide their actions. For it was not until the 1870s and 1880s that the actualities of industrial capitalism contradicted Christian ethics on such a scale as to awaken a strong protest against it among the clergy. Nor was it until these decades that the strength of Protestant Christianity in the large cities was seriously challenged by the growing indifference of the working masses for whom Protestantism, whether in its evangelical form or in its more modern scientific guise, offered little help in meeting the harsh conditions of life in the sweatshops and slums. Once the Christian Protestant interest was thus jeopardized and challenged, a positive and constructive response to the evils of industrialism and the ills of workers was almost inevitable.

Two influences, both largely English, guided the attempt of Protestant Christianity to meet the challenge. One influence was Toynbee Hall, London's pioneer social settlement house, which provided Americans with a model. The first report of the American College Settlement Association expressed a vision of "brotherhood wherein no man lives unto himself, of a neighborhood where no man may fall among thieves; of a house wherein are many mansions and no dark rooms; of a freedom that is perfect service." But the writings of William Morris, John R. Seeley, Frederick D. Maurice, and John Ruskin, English pioneers in the social gospel and in Christian Socialism, were hardly less influential than the British social settlement movement and related programs of meliorism. In 1872 the Reverend Jesse H. Jones, a Massachusetts Congrega-

the message of the Social Gospel in his fictionalized piece, *In His Steps* (1897). This famous book pictured daily life in an American community in which every church member pledged himself to be guided in all his actions for an entire year by the constant consideration of what Jesus would have done in the identical situation. Thus was born "a church of Jesus without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, following him all the way, walking obediently in His Steps."<sup>15</sup>

Others went much further than these advocates of the Social Gospel and advocated full-fledged Christian Socialism. Among them were W. D. P. Bliss, the Episcopal minister who had been so responsive to the Social Gospel; George D. Herron, a middle-western Congregational minister, writer, orator, and professor at Grinnell College; and Walter Rauschenbusch, professor at the Rochester Theological Seminary and founder of an intimate fellowship of Christian Socialists known as the Brotherhood of the Kingdom. Christian Socialism differed from Marxism not in its objective, a collectivist society, but in its conception of the methods of achieving the goal and in its philosophy of life. The doctrine of the class struggle and the materialist philosophy of life and of history were rejected outright, although some of the Christian Socialists were influenced by these ideas. Christian Socialism took the ground that collectivism could be realized only through the power of human love and the inspiration of God. Man, being the son of God and the brother of all his fellow men, must be guided by God's law of love. In the eyes of the Christian Socialists the materialistic emphases of the Marxists ignored the most important elements of all: the spiritual nature of man and his spiritual destiny, the divine process of social redemption, and the poetic beauties of faith, ultimate reality, the eternal life. The Marxists, in turn, regarded the theological basis of Christian Socialism as mere supernaturalism and the rejection of the class struggle as a source of fatal weakness.

It is impossible to determine, even roughly, the extent of the appeal made by Christian Socialism. It failed to capture any large part of the clergy and laity even in the denominations in which it exerted its greatest influence. Nevertheless, in some measure it touched the emotions of great numbers of men and women. The less radical Social Gospel, which found an institutional exemplification in the Protestant denominations and even in the Catholic church, must be regarded as one of the domi-

<sup>15</sup> Charles M. Sheldon, *In His Steps* (Thompson and Thomas, n.d.), 301.

# The Conservative Defense

*The idler gets what is coming to him—and that is nothing. The United States stands for individual effort and self-reliance. . . . It would be an unfortunate thing for us if we all became merged into one mammoth society with individualism suppressed and personal initiative suppressed and discouraged.*

—JAMES O. FAGAN,  
*The Autobiography of an Individualist*, 1912

*And just as the petty gambler's faith is fostered by runners and "cappers" for faro, policy, roulette, and keno, so the faith of the industrial underling is fostered by a tremendous trumpeting of the ways and means to worldly "success." The preaching of "success" has become, in these last five years, a distinct profession, honored and well recompensed.*

—WILLIAM GHENT,  
*Our Benevolent Feudalism*, 1902

On the threshold of the century William Graham Sumner, the distinguished economist and sociologist at Yale, observed that "an air of contentment and enthusiastic cheerfulness characterizes the thought



popular faith and as the strength of reform groups mounted, industrial leaders and their defenders began to elaborate theoretical defenses. Gradually they came to use the slogans, symbols, and ideas in the general cultural heritage which promised to be most suitable to their needs. The conservative ideology was not invented out of whole cloth; neither was its formulation the result of entirely conscious and purposeful effort to meet new situations. The set of assumptions, slogans, values, and ideas which may be called the conservative defense was organized and publicized in part by the more articulate business leaders themselves and in part by ministers, educators, literary men, and social scientists. The conservative defense was identified by its exponents with the general good, with universal and immutable values. It was adopted, consciously or unconsciously, by practically the entire business class, save for such exceptional men as N. O. Nelson, "Golden Rule" Jones, Tom Johnson, and Joseph Fels, who themselves joined the vanguard of protest and reform. Many only loosely associated with business, and many others who stood outside its ranks, accepted the assumptions and arguments of the conservative defense.

The defense varied in accordance with the social and philosophical assumptions of the individuals who developed its arguments. It was affected by definite situations and by the specific audience to whom the arguments were addressed. As the economic structure of the country changed and as the radical and reform ideologies underwent development and gained strength, the character of the conservative defense was in turn modified. In general, during the period of rapid expansion of the economic system in the last decades of the nineteenth century, American conservatives, unlike their fellows in England and Germany who accepted certain measures of social legislation, were willing to make few or no concessions. Only in the twentieth century did they reluctantly begin to admit the need for some modification of the doctrines they had so staunchly defended.

On the negative side conservative spokesmen belittled as mistaken or mischievous the inflationary doctrines of the Greenbackers and Populists. David A. Wells, who enjoyed a great reputation as an authority in economics, declared that anyone who stood out against contracting the currency was in effect a repudiator and disloyal to the national honor and to the government itself. If Greenbackers persisted in their follies, Wells continued, they were more stupid than the donkeys which, observ-

ment, hard times, and profound suffering, the popular Brooklyn preacher, who enjoyed an income of perhaps twenty thousand a year, declared that "God has intended the great to be great and the little to be little. . . . I do not say that a dollar a day is enough to support a working man. But it is enough to support a man! Not enough to support a man and five children if a man insists on smoking and drinking beer. . . . But the man who cannot live on bread and water is not fit to live."<sup>3</sup>

Such stark asceticism was not the only argument in the support which Christian leaders gave to unequal riches. Mark Hopkins contended that God had implanted in man the natural desire to acquire property in order to impel him to labor, to make tools, garments, shelter, on which the well-being and progress of society depend. In the long run, wrote another leader, William Lawrence, the Episcopal bishop of Massachusetts, it is only to the man of morality that wealth comes, for "only by working along the lines of right thinking and right living can the secrets and wealth of Nature be revealed."<sup>4</sup> James McCosh, the president of Princeton, went further than many in defending private property as a divine right. He argued that "God has bestowed upon us certain powers and gifts which no one is at liberty to take from us or to interfere with. All attempts to deprive us of them is theft."<sup>5</sup>

The more common contention was that of Daniel S. Gregory, who emphasized the Pauline doctrine of the stewardship of great riches. "The Moral Governor," wrote Gregory in his popular textbook, *Christian Ethics* (1875), "has placed the power of acquisitiveness in man for good and noble purposes,"<sup>6</sup> the chief of which were that man might use the money God had given him to relieve the poor and to advance God's word. No single preacher of the Gospel did so much to popularize this idea as the Baptist clergyman of Philadelphia, Russell Conwell. In his popular address, *Acres of Diamonds*, Conwell declared that while there were indeed things higher, grander, and more sublime than money, any one of them could be greatly enhanced by the use of money. For money is power, he argued, and for a man to say "I do not want money" is to say "I do not wish to do any good to my fellowmen." To try to get rich

<sup>3</sup> Henry Ward Beecher in the *New York Times*, July 30, 1877; cited in Paxton Hibben's *Henry Ward Beecher, an American Portrait* (Doubleday & Co., 1927), 326.

<sup>4</sup> The Right Reverend William Lawrence, "The Relation of Wealth to Morals," *World's Work*, I (January, 1901), 289-290.

<sup>5</sup> James McCosh, *Our Moral Nature* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), 40.

<sup>6</sup> David S. Gregory, *Christian Ethics* (Philadelphia, 1875), 244.

struggles of interests for larger shares in the produce of industry. The decision of these contests might better be left to the natural economic laws of the free contract than to any type of legislative or administrative interference. Any fiat currency, any social legislation, any influence of trade unions resting on state support was, in effect, an effort to cure poverty "by making those who have share with those who have not."<sup>7</sup>

The note of individualism was the dominant one in other defenses of laissez faire. "In point of natural resources," wrote David A. Wells,

Providence has given us all that we desire. And that these resources may be made productive of abundance, great and overflowing, to all sorts and conditions of men, there must be, *first*, industry and economy on the part of the individual, *second*, on the part of society, a guaranty that every man shall have an opportunity to exert his industry, and exchange his products, with the utmost freedom and the greatest intelligence; and, when society has done this, we will have solved the problem involved in the relations of capital and labor, so far as the solution is within the control of human agency; for in giving to each man his opportunity, conjoined with freedom and intelligence, we invest him, as it were, "with crown and mitre," and make him sovereign over himself.<sup>8</sup>

In other refutations of socialism and communism a great variety of arguments and authorities was brought into service. After surveying Utopian and Marxist socialism, Theodore Woolsey concluded that these would fetter individuality, corrupt the morality of the family, destroy religion, and negate basic economic laws as well. He devoted considerable attention to John Stuart Mill's opposition to socialism on the ground of its incompatibility with economic law. Four years later, Professor J. Laurence Laughlin of Harvard University, in preparing a college text edition of John Stuart Mill's *Political Economy*, deleted chapters and passages in which the great English thinker attacked laissez faire on the score of its incompatibility with high productivity and good social morals, deplored existing economic inequalities for women, and spoke of "the total absence of regard for justice or fairness in the relations between capital and labor." In thus misrepresenting Mill by throwing out portions the author regarded as necessary to his system of thought, Laughlin may have been acting deliberately or he may merely have been

<sup>7</sup> William Graham Sumner, "Reply to a Socialist," in *The Challenge of Facts and Other Essays* (Yale University Press, 1914), 55-62.

<sup>8</sup> David A. Wells, *Practical Economics* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1885), 259.

he argued, bring wealth to those with the superior energy and ability to produce it, and keep it from the drones, the weak, the incompetent. If the swiftest win in the race, the rest may be consoled by recalling the sage advice:

The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,  
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.

William Graham Sumner declared that inequality is rooted in human nature and in the very order of the universe itself; no one is responsible for this inequality and no one can change it. It is fortunate, he continued, that this is so, for the competition resulting from inequality develops whatever powers the individual possesses. The more intense men's struggle for the limited resources of nature, the more thoroughly the individual's talents are developed. To lessen the inequalities by artificial methods merely favors the survival of the unfittest and penalizes the hard-working, the thrifty, and the upright in behalf of the lazy and incompetent. Sumner argued on another occasion that human nature, being selfish and the result of development through eons of time, could not be reshaped by a law here and an act of misguided philanthropy there.

These general ideas, especially that which attributed individual success and failure in material efforts to heredity, were given support by the writings of two eminent psychologists, G. Stanley Hall and E. L. Thorndike. Although no adequate scientific techniques existed for measuring precisely the relative importance of heredity and environment in determining human traits, sweeping generalizations were made in the name of science. Hall and Thorndike maintained that inherited intelligence is the predominant factor in success or failure. Thus natural science was made to reinforce the individualistic ideology of the conservative defense.

### The Cult of the Elite

The psychological justification of social and economic inequality on the score of inherited differences in the mental ability of individuals easily lent itself to the development of the doctrine of the elite. This doctrine was phrased in less crude terms than those employed by many

ideologies. According to the new humanism, as More and Babbitt termed their body of thought, men are by nature unequal and justice consists in a fair division of rewards according to the intrinsic importance of the task and the excellence with which it is performed. The proper function of education is not to prepare one and all alike to compete in the race for an impossible and false equality, but rather to serve as a sifting discipline by which individuals find their proper level and learn best how to do that for which nature has fitted them. Essentially a savage, man becomes humanized only in so far as he discovers his inward self, only in so far as he wages on the inner and spiritual level the battle against primitive instincts and the false values of society—particularly its emphasis on extensiveness at the expense of intensiveness, its vulgar worship of material success, its false equalitarianism, its sentimental humanitarianism.

Although in humanist eyes the real conflict of life takes place on the inner level, exteriors are nevertheless of consequence. In fact, the humanists elevated property rights to a position of paramount importance despite their dislike of the grasping materialism of the plutocracy. Since civilization has advanced, More argued, in relation to the security that property has enjoyed, to the civilized man "the rights of property are more important than the right to life." Property rights are in actuality superior to so-called human rights, to dubious ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Indeed, the new humanism discredited emphasis on rights and on the elevation of sympathy as a social value and insisted on the greater importance of discipline, duty, restraint, and responsibility.

Radicals and reformers, especially those with upper-class backgrounds, appeared to the new humanists as sentimental traitors who sought repentance in milk-and-waterish humanitarianism. The experience of the past, they argued, proved that the radical and the democrat were wrong in supposing that society is perfectible. Only the individual can be saved, and salvation lies in subordination to the tested standards evolved by the long past. These values—respect for property rights, the classical canons of the golden mean in literature, art, and philosophy, the disciplined restraint of the outgoing, expansive, and sentimental individual urges—leave no place at all for enthusiasm for the new, for change, for revolution. Half a loaf is better than none, the argument ran; an imperfect freedom is preferable to a regimented and slaving equalitarianism; quality excels quantity; selection of superior individuals capable of

Emerson's "Hitch your wagon to a star," in Margaret Fuller's "Genius will thrive without training," in J. G. Holland's "We build the ladder by which we rise," and in the various versions given these aphorisms in ordinary speech. The cult of getting ahead through one's own efforts was both reflected in and still further popularized by the McGuffey readers and other schoolbooks, by tales, essays, and verses in popular magazines and newspapers, and by commencement addresses in academies and high schools which frequently began and ended on the theme "Beyond the Alps lies Italy!"

In the post-Civil War decades the idea of success through self-effort as a possibility for everyone became vastly more popular and widespread than ever before. The men and women responsible for this never-ceasing popularization did not consciously write their stories and their books in order to defend the existing order of private property, competitive enterprise, and corporate wealth. They did so largely because they believed in the reality of what they wrote; and there was certainly a reality behind it. While the cult of the self-made man was being elaborated in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, there was truth in Carnegie's insistence that many of the millionaires in active control had started out as poor boys. While the literature of success was being written and read in the same decade, Darwin P. Kingsley was on his way from his job as chore boy on a Vermont farm to the presidency of the world's largest insurance company. John D. Rockefeller was tasting the bitterness of relative poverty and then the sweets of incredible material success. Thomas A. Edison was growing from newsboy to world-famous inventor. James Farrell was forging ahead from humble labor in a wire mill to the presidency of United States Steel, and Charles Schwab was pushing on from driving a coach into leadership in the same industry. Henry Ford was emerging from a job at two and a half dollars a week polishing steam engines; and Julius Rosenwald, a peddler of chromos, was on his way to the captaincy of a great mail-order business.

But such actualities only in part explain the growth of the cult of the self-made man. The demand for this type of literature was related to the fact that in the years following the Civil War the plain people felt keenly the effects of the contraction of credit, of the recurring periods of depression and unemployment, and of the prevailing downward trend in farm prices. As it became ever more difficult for the small enterpriser to compete with the growing corporation, there was need for a reaffirma-

from some of the buccaneers of the 1860s and 1870s—Thayer indicated that the same elements explaining the success of his hero explained that of other self-made men in a variety of fields. The rules were neither complex nor long. First of all, the youth must find out his talents (for God had endowed each person differently) and then choose the proper pursuit. Equally important was the adoption of a moral code early in life, and the rigorous adherence to it ever after. The upshot of the code was expressed in the admonition, "Be true to yourselves and your God, and success will crown your efforts."

Thayer realized the importance of being specific. In his life of James A. Garfield, *From the Log-Cabin to the White-House*, he reminded his readers that Garfield, like Lincoln, had worked hard and improved every moment of leisure by reading, and that he had become known for his industry, tact, perseverance, integrity, courage, economy, thoroughness, punctuality, decision, benevolence, and geniality. Such traits were indispensable for the success which, Thayer never forgot to remind his readers, could be won only through strict regard for morality and religion. In addition to his biographies, this writer popularized his doctrine of success through self-help in *Tact, Push, and Principle, A Guide to Young Men*, in *Aim High: Hints and Helps for Young Men*, and in a series of school readers, *Turning Points in Successful Careers*, *The Ethics of Success*, and *Men Who Win*.

Alger subscribed to the same virtues. His titles pithily expressed his basic ideas. In one of the autographs he wrote for an admirer, he collected some of the representative names of his 119 books:

*Strive and Succeed*, the world's temptations flee—  
*Be Brave and Bold*, and *Strong and Steady* be.  
*Go Slow and Sure*, and prosper then you must—  
*With Fame and Fortune*, while you *Try and Trust*.

In the *Ragged Dick* series, which was launched in 1867, and its successors, which included *Luck and Pluck* and *Tattered Tom*, the heroes were depicted in white, the villains in black; the heroes inevitably came out on top after many desperate tussels. The heroes were poor, obscure boys to whom fate had been unkind, but who, through their willingness to risk, to be bold, to adventure, above all through their steadfast loyalty to the pious and moral virtues, triumphed in the end. The triumph was always one of worldly success. The city—to which Alger heroes fre-

effect of this message upon the millions of middle-class Americans who heard it, but it undoubtedly encouraged many to strive for success by the old-fashioned and "divinely sanctioned" methods of personal effort, and bolstered their support of the prevailing economic and social order in which such individual success was possible "right where you are."

Even Russell Conwell did not exhaust the market for nonfictionalized success stories. Many with whom theological sanctions no longer carried weight preferred a version which, while thoroughly inspirational and idealistic, was strengthened by the authority of science. Those who thus yearned for an "intellectual" and "scientific" reaffirmation of the power of the individual to triumph over any and all odds found fare to their liking in the writings of Orison Swett Marden. Marden was an orphan who read and took to heart the famous *Self-Help* of the Englishman Samuel Smiles—for England too had its cult of personal success through self-effort. He not only earned his way through Boston University by catering but graduated with \$20,000 in his pocket. After making the grand tour on the Continent, Marden pioneered in resort, hotel, and advertising enterprises, only to meet with financial ruin in Chicago in 1893.

Undaunted, Marden returned to Boston to begin all over again. His first book, *Pushing to the Front* (1894), went through 250 editions. In 1897 he founded a new magazine, *Success*, which flourished until 1912, when it failed. But Marden did not fail. Three millions of his fellow countrymen had purchased his books and thirty of his volumes had been translated into German. He never doubted the truth of his basic idea, the idea that the will to success is the only thing that is vital to success. The law of prosperity and success, he insisted in his pseudo-psychological terminology, is a mental law as certain as the law of gravitation, as fixed as the movements of the planets and the tides of the sea, as unerring as the fundamentals of mathematics.

Marden's doctrines were either hit upon or borrowed by many other writers; some, like Elizabeth Townsend, developed them into the cult of New Thought; others, like Frank Crane, popularized them in much-read columns of the newspaper press. Thus many who were veering away from the orthodox theology and found the success ideology of Christian Science unpalatable discovered in the more secular but equally inspirational writings of Marden and the New Thought exponents, and



tain modifications of capitalism they were in a genuine sense defending it against the more drastic onslaughts of socialists and laying the foundations for a new line of defense which many capitalists themselves were ultimately to accept.

When Richard T. Ely suggested that the evils of capitalism could be remedied by the public ownership of natural monopolies, he was virtually in the camp of the Christian Socialists. But his advocacy of legislation in the interest of the worker and the consumer, which was frowned on and on occasion bitterly fought by many capitalists, nevertheless was a foundation stone in the structure known as "welfare capitalism." This was carried still further by another German-trained economist, the eccentric and original Simon N. Patten of the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania. As early as 1885 Patten insisted on the inadequacy of Mill's principle of laissez faire for American economy. Like Henry C. Carey before him, he advocated a harmony of economic interests to be achieved by the promotion of industry through government subsidies and the enhancement of the consuming power of the masses through comparable measures of social control. Society, Patten thought, had passed from the older deficit economy to a new economy of abundance. Cooperation and planning, especially in the field of distributive economics, would raise the living standard of the common people and thus achieve more effectively a larger measure of economic equality than any direct or socialistic redistribution could possibly do. This was the main import of *The Theory of Prosperity* (1902) and *The New Basis of Civilization* (1907).

The socialist criticism of capitalistic production as wasteful was countered by the development of a new body of theory and practice called scientific management. The pioneer in this field of endeavor was Frederick W. Taylor, an engineer of imagination and talent who, after wide experience, entered the service of the Bethlehem Steel Company in 1898. Taylor maintained that the efficiency of the men and machines in any given plant might be greatly increased by the scientific study of every minute step in the productive processes of the plant. On the basis of such studies wasteful motions could be eliminated and maximum efficiency achieved. The theories and actual achievements of Taylor and his associates convinced the more progressive managers and owners that the efficiency engineer was a tower of strength to capitalistic production. Although workers frequently resented the pressure involved in

theory of the stewardship of great riches. According to the great steel titan, the man of wealth, if he would fulfill his duty, must live modestly and divert all his revenue, beyond that necessary for the legitimate needs of his family, to trust funds calculated to advance community well-being. Since this method would not interfere with the development of character inherent in pushing ahead in business and since it would provide succor to the man who for the time had fallen behind in the race, it was the best means of equalizing riches. In addition, Carnegie pointed out, the man of wealth would allocate his funds more justly and efficiently than the government could.

As capitalists began increasingly to follow Carnegie's example in establishing philanthropies, sections of the public reflected on the motives of the men of great wealth in endowing foundations for the advancement and popularization of knowledge and the arts. According to one fairly popular view, capitalists found in philanthropy a means of perpetuating their name and heightening their prestige. Others believed that they saw in philanthropy a method for strengthening capitalism and weakening its enemies by proving the beneficence of production for profit.

What was the effect on public opinion of the great gifts bestowed on universities, research, libraries, public education, and the arts? The fact that public relations counsels so frequently urged on men of great fortunes the beneficent effect of philanthropy in breaking down popular opposition to wealth is significant. On the other hand, much evidence suggests that large sections of the public were not easily won over to big business as a result of philanthropic endowments. The attitude of many people found official articulation in the report of the Congressional Commission on Industrial Relations, which declared in 1915 that the Carnegie and Rockefeller benefactions constituted a public menace. These benefactions were said to be based on the exploitation of the laborer and the consumer; they were criticized on the score that the public exerted no control over them and the uses to which they were put; and they were declared to constitute a liability in so far as they benumbed the responsibility of the state in fields proper for state activity. Not only radical intellectuals but many readers of such periodicals as the widely circulated *Appeal to Reason* believed that philanthropies and foundations rested on "tainted money" and tended to blind the public to the evils of the capitalistic system.

Such suspicions did not, however, deter wealthy men from establishing

sisting that reform and adjustment long overdue must be forthcoming immediately in business no less than in government if cataclysmic revolution was to be prevented.

Although few among "the idle rich" accepted any such blanket indictments or such forthright demands for concessions, it became more and more common for spokesmen of the middle classes to admit the necessity of reform. Theodore Roosevelt, himself a member of the established class, led the way in the movement of concession by opportunistically adopting one after another of the measures hitherto pushed by progressives and radicals. In 1900 the National Civic Federation was formed, at the instance of a group of businessmen, to minimize conflicts between capital and labor through the cultivation of a spirit of mutual concession.

In the earlier decades the champions of conservatism had generally refused to admit the desirability of any modification of *laissez faire*; but in 1916 Elihu Root could declare that "democracy turns again to government to furnish by law the protection which the individual can no longer secure through his freedom of contract, and to compel the vast multitude on whose cooperation all of us are dependent, to do their necessary part in the life of the community."<sup>11</sup> On the eve of World War I Root was joined by other outstanding representatives of conservative America who conceded that the doctrines of Herbert Spencer had to be modified in the direction of public control. Other conservatives admitted the need both for broader social and industrial welfare legislation and for reforms in governmental machinery in the interest of efficiency. The point was always made, however, that if catastrophe was to be avoided, all changes and reforms should be gradual and under conservative auspices.

Thus in the midst of an advancing order of corporate business, an ideology congenial to it gradually emerged. This ideology was derived in part from deep-rooted folk ideas, in part from the sanctions of religion, in part from concepts of natural science. But whatever the source, its arguments rested upon the concepts of individualism, equality of opportunity, and the promise of well-being under a profit economy. The conservative defense, crystallized by business leaders and by allied members of the legal, educational, and literary professions, was popularized in sermons, speeches, novels, slogans, and essays. It became part and

<sup>11</sup> Elihu Root, *Addresses on Citizenship and Government* (Harvard University Press, 1916), 519.

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# *Diversion, Criticism, and Contraction*

## America Recrosses the Oceans

*With how much more glory and advantage to itself does a nation act when it exerts its powers to rescue the world from bondage and to create to itself friends than when it employs these powers to increase ruin and misery!*

—THOMAS PAINE, 1791

*Expansion and imperialism are at war with the the best traditions, principles, and interests of the American people, and . . . they will plunge us into a network of difficult problems and political perils, which we might have avoided, while they offer us no corresponding advantage in return.*

—WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, 1899

*This is a war of high principle, debased by no selfish ambition of conquest or spoliation. . . . We know, and all the world knows, that we have been forced into it to save the very institutions we live under from corruption and destruction. . . . From the first the thought of the people of the United States turned toward something more than winning this war. It turned to the establishment of the eternal principles of right and justice.*

—WOODROW WILSON, 1917, 1919

struggling champions of freedom in France. Their argument stated that the struggle for liberty was worldwide and that American democracy and Old World autocracy were incompatible. The Proclamation of Neutrality in 1793 and Washington's Farewell Address dealt a mighty blow to eighteenth-century interventionism. Yet in later struggles of the Greeks, Irish, Germans, Hungarians, French, Poles, and Italians for national freedom or republican institutions, American sympathy was widespread and the unofficial and voluntary aid of Americans was considerable.

On only one occasion, however, did the idea that America should intervene in the European upheavals win any appreciable support among officials or the general public. In the years immediately following 1848 foreign-born patriots in the United States, militantly self-conscious American nationalists, international idealists, and a few political leaders who saw advantage in fanning the enthusiasm of these groups, argued with much persuasiveness that American freedom and American interests were jeopardized by the reactionary triumph abroad and that America had a moral obligation to aid the defeated revolutionists. Senator Isaac P. Walker of Wisconsin announced in Congress on December 16, 1851, that the country should "interpose both *her moral and physical power*" against the interference of one nation (Russia) in the affairs of another (Austria-Hungary) in violation of public law and morality. The Wisconsin Democrat argued that the country ought to be ready, if necessary, to fight for Hungarian freedom. Others, including Senator Cass of Michigan, indulged in similar talk. The world must know, declared Cass, that there are "twenty-five millions of people looking across the ocean at Europe, strong in power, acquainted with their rights, and determined to enforce them."<sup>1</sup> In 1852 the Democratic candidate for the Presidency reminded his countrymen that "in the weakness of our infancy . . . not only words of cheer were sent across the ocean to greet us, but upon its bosom were borne to our shores, hearts to sympathize and arms to strike."<sup>2</sup> The argument for intervention rested by and large on moral obligation but also on the doctrine that American democracy was threatened by the existence of European autocracy. A New York Whig, Senator Seward, and a Louisiana Democrat, Senator Soulé, pointed to the commercial advantages that would result from the favor-

<sup>1</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., 310.

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Stillman, *Autobiography of a Journalist*, 2 vols. (Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1901), I, 142.

European competitions in this part of the world, as our interests may dictate; . . . to dictate the terms of connection between the Old and the New World." In the prevailing and future contests in the West Indies, "a few ships of line, sent opportunely to the re-inforcement of either side, would often be sufficient to decide the fate of a campaign, on the event of which interests of great magnitude were suspended."<sup>5</sup> This program was adopted and promoted by such Whig leaders as Daniel Webster and William E. Seward. In consequence American interests in the Sandwich Islands were extended; Japan was opened up to American commerce; a naval base in the Bonin Islands was seized; and in 1863 and 1864 American war vessels fired on the base of a stubborn Japanese prince at Shimonoseki.

Commercial spokesmen developed a rationale justifying the idea that American destiny involved the promotion of trade in the Pacific and the expansion of trade overseas generally through diplomacy and naval strength. In so elaborating this conception of our destiny, merchants were obviously promoting interests to which they were committed. In 1840 Abbott Lawrence, a leading Massachusetts textile industrialist, presented to the House of Representatives a memorial from American merchants in Canton asking for trade agreements with China and for naval protection. In 1851 *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* published an article in which the author, after commenting on the actual and potential resources of America, favored overseas commercial expansion on the ground that "we cannot if we would live up to our means of support, and the accumulations of industry furnish us with a constantly augmenting capital that must seek for new channels of employment." The inevitable contest with Great Britain for commercial empire, continued the writer, could end only in American supremacy over "the whole Oriental trade."<sup>6</sup>

Another contributor to *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* not only predicted the triumph of American enterprise overseas but assumed that expansion would result either in the Americanization of remote peoples or in their extermination. "As in modern society the capitalist has the pauper in his power, so among nations the rich ones will require the service of the poor ones, or cause their destruction. Nor is the universal and irresistible operation of this law to be regretted. . . . It is better that

<sup>5</sup> Paul L. Ford (ed.), *The Federalist* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1898), No. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XXIV (June, 1851), 779.

War. Hence the third concept of American destiny—that of building a civilization at home with an abundant and good life for all within the expanding continental domain—dominated thought and action on the whole from the 1790s until the 1890s. This idea was not only well suited, in the narrower and more material sense, to the interests of the agrarians whom the Jeffersonians, Jacksonians, and early Republicans represented. The program of consolidating the national domain and expanding it into areas contiguous to the boundaries at any given moment in order to provide fertile soils for exploitation and enjoyment was virtually inescapable by reason of the compulsion of geography and interest.

This idea of Manifest Destiny also happened to blend fairly well with prevalent world economics. Such a program fitted in with a political pattern that dominated the politics of continental Europe; on that seething stage national boundaries were also being rounded out and political nationalism promoted.

Among the more or less materialistic arguments advanced in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century to justify the incorporation of contiguous agricultural territory, the doctrine of self-interest bulked large. At the time of the acquisition of Louisiana, the Floridas, Texas, and California, the argument was again and again advanced that these territories were necessary to provide security against savage Indians, crafty Mexicans and Spaniards, and potential British interlopers.

The doctrine that the superior use of the soil entitled the superior user to seize the land of others similarly did good service. Frontier expansionists repeatedly justified the incorporation of Indian territory and vast expanses of Mexico north of the Rio Grande on the grounds that the actual owners failed to make good use of these dominions.

Without repudiating the doctrine of self-interest, exponents of contiguous geographical expansion frequently cloaked their arguments in high-sounding analogies. As early as the 1820s John Quincy Adams, seeking to apply a physical law to the political sphere, expressed the belief that Cuba, a "natural appendage," would inevitably be attracted to the United States as a bit of iron is to a magnet. Such humanitarians as Ralph Waldo Emerson similarly found in the law of gravitation the formula explaining the inevitable pull without war which this country exerted on territories contiguous to it. As the dynamic view of nature tended to overshadow the static Newtonian conception of the universe, the idea of natural growth figured increasingly in the argument for



hitherto competing and subordinate concepts of American destiny in the world came into their own.

The triumph of the idea that national destiny lay beyond the seas, whether on the ground of alleged national interest and necessity or on the score of a moral obligation to advance liberty by force, can be explained only in terms of the new conditions prevailing in the country and the world at large at the end of the nineteenth century.

In the later decades of the century the struggle for world empire which France, England, Spain, and Holland had inaugurated 300 years earlier seemed to be entering its final stage. The achievement of national unity in Italy and Germany and the general advance of industrialism in Europe stimulated new adventures in colonialism. Italy and Germany both desired to obtain colonies, and the competition resulting from a growing industrial economy heightened the value of colonies in the eyes of political and business leaders in the older imperial states. American leaders observed the sharpened thrust of the European powers for the remaining unoccupied regions of the earth. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge declared in *The Forum* in 1896 that "The great nations are rapidly absorbing for their future expansion and their present defense all the waste places of the earth" and that in consequence the United States must not "fall out of the line of march."

Changing interests within the United States itself also help explain the shifting emphases regarding national destiny. It is difficult to believe that the program of overseas colonial expansion could have triumphed before the victory of political unity at home or prior to the shift in the balance of power from an agrarian economy to one in which industry and finance enjoyed primacy. A sectionally contentious confederacy in which the agrarian interest held the balance of power was no adequate instrument for pursuing vigorously and consistently the "large policy" of overseas expansion. So long as expansion into contiguous territories provided economic opportunities not only for farmers but for merchants and entrepreneurs, there was no pressing need for a powerful Navy, for an aggressive foreign policy in the interest of markets, or for colonialism.

Only in the last two decades of the old century and the first decades of the new did the development of industry, trade, and banking reach the point at which trading posts and naval bases, colonialism and financial imperialism appeared to be necessary. Only toward the end of the century did the rate of expansion of the domestic economy begin to

Republicans to maintain the power of their party did affect the decision to embark on a war for the liberation of Cuba—a war which also resulted in overseas colonialism.

The relationship between the consciousness that the frontier era was at an end and the movement for overseas expansion is a fascinating subject for speculation. Certain religious leaders saw, as early as the mid-1880s, a relationship between the new urbanism that was replacing the older frontier era and the need for a militant Protestant missionary movement both at home and abroad. During the debate over the issue of retaining the Philippines Senator Beveridge argued that the country needed colonies far more than it had earlier needed the contiguous frontier territories it had acquired. It is also possible that more subtle relationships existed, but these would be difficult to document. Perhaps the fact that the West was disappearing made some men more ready to favor overseas opportunities for romance and adventure, for manly prowess, for the fighting and disorder toward which, in the eyes of some students of human nature, man is consciously or unconsciously inclined. At any rate, it was at the time when economic, political, and psychological conditions were favorable that Americans for the first time turned from the task of rounding off the national domain and trying through domestic reform movements to put their own house in order. It was then that they embarked on the task of promoting abroad both American economic and political interests and American morals and ideals.

The political leaders, naval officers, missionaries, businessmen, journalists, and others who promoted this program in some instances did so because of personal commitments. In other cases the position taken by proponents of the new policy provided psychological satisfactions the nature of which they themselves did not try to analyze. We cannot assign specific motives to particular people, but we do know that, in the organic whole which a society is, ever integral yet ever subject to cleavage and change, intellectuals like others are bound to respond to shifting conditions which influence their judgments about public matters.

### **The Rationale of the New Departure**

The rationale for the new policy of promoting freedom overseas and acquiring colonies, naval bases, and a great fleet resembled in many

majesty of numbers and wealth behind it—the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization—having developed peculiarly aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind, will spread itself over the earth.” At times, to be sure, Strong spoke of the needed harmony of races for the unity of mankind and of the ways in which the differences between the races supplemented and served one another. But his main emphasis was on the idea that the inferior races, in being destined to give way before the Americans, “were only the precursors of a superior race, voices in the wilderness crying: ‘Prepare ye the way of the Lord!’”<sup>10</sup> Strong’s book went through many editions and reached hundreds of thousands of readers.

The other synthesis was even more remarkable, for it included not only the concept of a superior race and a moral mission, but the traditional realistic arguments laid down by the early Hamiltonians in their program for overseas power. Captain Alfred Mahan’s theories, rooted in American experience and in centuries of British naval policy, were advanced in *The Influence of Sea Power on History* (1890) and in subsequent popular articles and books. Mahan first of all advanced an interpretation of history which gave seapower pivotal importance in the destiny of nations. He further outlined in his early writings a philosophy of self-interest, force, and power politics. In his eyes no nation could enjoy true prosperity unless it successfully based its policy on mercantilistic imperialism—unless, in competition with other countries for world markets, it possessed a powerful navy, a strong merchant marine, naval bases, and colonial possessions. Mahan hoped that the United States would embark on a colonial policy and did what he could to promote that end. In the meantime he insisted that the Navy should be sufficiently strengthened to enable it to keep our ports open in case the United States became involved in war.

In addition to espousing a philosophy and policy of self-interest and relating imperialism to it, Mahan also accepted the doctrine of America’s Christian and racial mission to spread its ideas over backward regions and even among such highly developed but “inferior” peoples as those of India, China, and Japan. At the same time he came increasingly to link war and imperialism on the one hand, with moral righteousness and idealism on the other. Evil being inherent in the world, the righteous

<sup>10</sup> Josiah Strong, *Our Country* (The Baker and Taylor Co., 1885), 222.

This philosophy met with opposition in the United States, but it also enjoyed considerable vogue, thanks to the Social Darwinists, the preachments of such Romanticists as Ruskin and Nietzsche, the scrambles of the European powers for colonies, and the realization that our frontier no longer existed to nourish the more "manly" virtues.

The exponents of war against Spain and the champions of colonialism during the aftermath also made bold and frequent use of arguments forged when the Floridas, Louisiana, Oregon, and northern Mexico were the bone of contention. The time-honored doctrines of utilitarianism and self-interest continued to be serviceable. Quite as frontier expansionists had argued, Professor Burgess of Columbia maintained in 1890 that a few thousand savages in the Polynesian islands had no moral right to reserve for their own purposes lands capable of sustaining millions of civilized men. This was also the thesis advanced by Lyman Abbott, editor of *The Outlook* and a leading Congregational clergyman, in an effort to justify retention of the Philippines in 1900. Expansionists also now urged, as they had done in other situations a half century before, that the acquisition of the Philippines was imperative for defense and security. Naval bases in the Caribbean and control of Puerto Rico, the Isthmus of Panama, and Hawaii were urged as a necessity to prevent a menacing foreign power from occupying them.

The theory of organic evolution and the doctrine of Social Darwinism seemed to provide new scientific support for the earlier argument based on the idea of natural growth. This argument was frequently heard in the 1890s and was applied specifically to the desired acquisition of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and even the Philippines. Whitelaw Reid of the *New York Tribune*, Professor H. H. Powers of Stanford and Cornell, and Homer Lea, hunchback Californian who preached the Japanese peril and became a military adviser to the Chinese, all appealed to the doctrine of biological growth in their pleas for the inevitability of expansion.

The doctrine of inevitability, like that of natural growth, was broad enough to enable its champions to make use of it in different ways as their temperaments and perspectives suggested. For pious and evangelical men, it was possible to see God's will in the doctrine of the inevitability of overseas expansion. Thus the wavering McKinley went down on his knees in the White House to ask for divine guidance, and God's answer resolved his doubts in regard to the wisdom of retaining the Philippines. But those of a more secular frame of mind emphasized naturalistic

God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm the forces of reaction throughout the earth. He has made us adept in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples. Were it not for such a force as this the world would relapse into barbarism and night. And of all our race He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world.<sup>12</sup>

Anti-imperialists objected that the conquest and retention of the Philippines were a repudiation of our traditional tenet of the right of self-determination of peoples. But Senator Henry Cabot Lodge met this by the argument that the Malays were incapable of learning democracy.

Others, to be sure, regarded the subject peoples as merely undeveloped and entirely capable of achieving, under American guardianship, an ultimate ability to govern themselves. Thus President McKinley, Senator Foraker, and others declared that our rule over the Filipinos was solely a trusteeship during which they might learn to rule themselves. This idea, championed by Woodrow Wilson, found official expression in 1916 in the Jones Act.

### Anti-imperialism and Pacificism

The growing enthusiasm for colonialism and the cult of force met with opposition. The feeble peace movement of the 1880s and 1890s grew in strength with the growth of the opposition. In addition to the religious, ethical, and humanitarian arguments against war, navalism, and imperialism, advocates of peace emphasized what they regarded as the wastefulness, the inexpediency, the futility of such policies and more strenuously than ever demanded arbitration and international organization as alternatives. The waxing movement for intervention in behalf of Cuban liberty was opposed on the grounds that the desired goal could be achieved through peaceful methods and that the doctrine of means justifying ends was a highly dangerous one.

Organized pacifists saw insurance of inevitable wars in the policies pursued by the leaders of the world, in international rivalries and balances of power. In general they talked as if such measures as curtailment

<sup>12</sup> *Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 1 sess. (January 9, 1900), 711.

speech had stated or implied that no government should rule peoples without their consent, that the American government had been created of, by, and for the American people as an instrument for the advancement of its own well-being. It could not be made successfully into one for the advancement of the well-being of remote, alien, and reluctant or bitterly opposed peoples. Any attempt, on whatever pretext, to imitate foreign powers in their policy, or to interfere in the affairs of other nations was inimical to everything that had made America a great and unique land. If it was to continue so, it must keep to a course wisely charted and amply vindicated by experience. These ideas were repeated again and again in the addresses and the pamphlets, poems, and other writings of the anti-imperialists.

The vigorous campaign of this group, together with the support of the Democratic party under Bryan's leadership in the presidential campaign of 1900, aroused the hope in many breasts that America might return once and for all to its older conception of its destiny. This was not to be the case. The election of 1900 involved other issues than imperialism and anti-imperialism, but the decision favored the new course. The great mass of the people, however, probably supposed that by this course we had merely wet our feet rather than plunged into midstream.

### Preparation for the Second Crusade

Although the colonies were retained, although the Navy was expanded, although participation in world politics reached new levels in the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, neither the movement for domestic reform nor that for international peace was shunted aside. On the contrary, the Progressive movement and the New Freedom alike enjoyed signal support and reaped material victories. The growing strength of imperialism and navalism was accompanied by an extraordinary development of the peace movement. Leading educators, clergymen, writers, labor spokesmen, and businessmen joined peace societies and testified to their opposition to war and to their conviction that America must lead the world in establishing peace. There is also evidence that peace propaganda reached down among the people as it never had done before. Thus Wilson's gradually developing internationalism was to strike responsive chords.

The growth of this peace sentiment did not mean the growth of senti-

was another way of phrasing an idea increasingly dear to intellectuals. About the same time Woodrow Wilson wrote that "the day of our isolation is past." In the new age before us, he continued, "America must lead the world."<sup>14</sup> Though he had moral influence and leadership in mind, he was on the point of visioning a leadership that also involved the use of power for the promotion of international order.

Wilson's anti-imperialistic sentiments did not keep him from resorting, during his first administration, to the doctrine of international police power in his efforts to make Mexico and the Caribbean republics orderly, peaceable, and moral. In this he clearly followed in Roosevelt's steps. Thus the doctrine of international police power, which had traditionally been countenanced only when it had seemed necessary to ward off the encroachment of "contaminating" European powers in our immediate neighborhood, was now operating as a definite policy.

In view of the idea of the interdependence of the world and the fear for American institutions when threatened by encroaching autocracies, it was only a relatively short step to the new position finally taken in 1917. This position was expounded in memorable words in Wilson's war message:

Our object . . . is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power. The right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. . . . The world must be made safe for democracy.

Shortly after, Wilson said: "We are saying to all mankind, 'We did not set this Government up in order that we might have a selfish and separate liberty for we are now ready to come to your assistance and fight out upon the field of the world the cause of human liberty.'"<sup>15</sup>

The step, though short, was not taken easily, either by President Wilson or by the American people. The change of mind involved in this momentous decision was made possible only because of a juxtaposition

<sup>14</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XC (December, 1902), 734.

<sup>15</sup> Ray Stannard Baker and William E. Dodd (eds.), *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson: War and Peace* (Harper & Row, 1927), I, 11, 53, 66.

international idealism. The pattern of thought that had enjoyed the support only of minorities throughout the nineteenth century was now extended from the Pacific and the Caribbean area, where it had been in operation since 1898, to Europe itself. America was to recross the Atlantic not only in defense of what was regarded as vital American interests. She was "to show the world that she was born to serve mankind," to lead in "a People's War, a war for freedom and justice and self-government amongst all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it and have made it their own, the German people themselves included."

### The Scholar in the Second Crusade

Before the scholar in the White House had made the final decision for war in April, 1917, academicians in general had taken the lead in mobilizing opinion for intervention in the European maelstrom. Because the effort to defeat the Central Powers involved as no previous war had done the entire mobilization of civilian life, intellectual activity was more profoundly affected than in any earlier military crisis. As never before, American scholars left their ivory towers.

For some time scholarship had been becoming more and more a matter of cooperative planning and organization, and the war greatly accelerated this tendency. The National Research Council, formed to coordinate research in the scientific field, facilitated the task of the government in innumerable ways. Committees of economists, political scientists, historians, and other scholars were summoned to Washington where they enlisted the help of their colleagues in planning war activities in which specialized knowledge was of importance. Historians publicized the official aims of the Allies, ourselves included, and discredited the foe. Other specialists aided Colonel House in preparing data to guide the delegates at the peace conference once the Germans were crushed. The close association of scholars in related social disciplines promoted the development of the idea of "the social sciences" and paved the way for the subsequent organization of the Social Science Research Council. The organization of the American Council of Learned Societies after the war similarly illustrated the growing tendency toward cooperative scholarship which the struggle promoted.



The Revolution and the Civil War had both promoted the idea of cultural nationalism, and although American intellectual life by 1917 had come to be far less dependent on that of Europe than in any earlier crisis, the second crusade also heightened cultural nationalism in considerable measure. Scholars no longer deferred to German learning and science. But if there was some tendency to substitute French leadership and thought for German, there was an even more marked tendency to rely on our own resources.

The war spirit frequently exacted a tax on freedom of expression. Eugene Debs, the popular socialist leader, was sentenced to a ten-year imprisonment for having denounced the administration's prosecution of men charged with sedition. Randolph Bourne, a gifted young literary critic, trenchantly expressed the opposition of the "suppressed minority" to the war—but no one would publish his denunciation of the compulsive power of the state in war time.

Academic freedom also suffered considerable restriction. Columbia University demanded the resignation of two professors who criticized America's entrance into the war. The trial of a dozen professors at the University of Nebraska was a lamentable example of hysteria. In the public schools, too, professional patriots frequently sought and obtained the dismissal of teachers judged to be lukewarm in their war enthusiasm or tinged with socialism or even old-fashioned American liberalism. This was, indeed, a repercussion of the hysteria that had been stimulated by professional patriots throughout the land, an hysteria marked by a passionate and unreasoning hatred of everything German—including German literature and music—a wild and fearful hatred of the Hun, the German beast, the murderous Kaiser.

When soldiers were not seeking release in fun from the regimentation of Army life, when home folk were not torn too much by the absence of sons and lovers or vexed unduly by the inconveniences of the war, when fierce hatred did not poison souls, the popular mind experienced considerable genuine idealism. The concept of the American mission of promoting an international order of peace and righteousness seemed, for a time, to enlist much general support. A good deal of the moral idealism previously channeled into movements for social justice at home was now diverted into the channels cut by President Wilson in his historic war messages.

That the second crusade checked the program for reform in our eco-

# 27 Prosperity, Disillusionment, Criticism

*The vast repetitive operations are dulling the human mind.*

—HERBERT HOOVER, 1920

*Never was our heritage of civilization and culture so secure, and never was it half so rich.*

—WILL DURANT, 1926

The ideal of internationalism did not disappear from American thought in the 1920s but it figured less in the intellectual life of the nation than it had during the War. Nor was domestic reform as deeply eclipsed as many at the time, and since, supposed: but it occupied a less prominent place in the minds of most Americans than it had in the first decade and a half of the century. In the discussions of public affairs great emphasis was put on the idea that capitalism in its big-business form had brought a new and permanent era of widespread and ever-increasing prosperity. Much publicity was also given to the idea that the United States, being immensely superior to the rest of the world, might well let Europe and Asia work out their own salvation.

Many who did not share in the new prosperity had doubts about the beneficence of large-scale business organization. Others, especially the so-called intelligentsia, expressed cynical disillusionment with the whole

mon attitude was to regard it as a mistake, an attitude that was strengthened by the revisionist historians. In 1926 Harry Elmer Barnes, professor of historical sociology at Smith College, published his *Genesis of the World War*, an attack on the widely accepted idea of unique German responsibility for the conflict. Two years later *Origins of the World War*, a two-volume study by one of his colleagues, Sidney B. Fay, left little doubt that the official Allied propaganda did not square at many points with a critical analysis of archival and other material.

Virtually all American literary men and women who wrote about the War expressed either a mellow but sad disappointment, as Willa Cather did in *One of Ours*, or the downright disillusionment of *Three Soldiers* by John Dos Passos, *What Price Glory* by Stallings and Anderson, and *Farewell to Arms* by Ernest Hemingway. The prevailing antipathy toward any idealizing of the war also found expression in the popularity of Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* and the movie based on it which brought to an even larger public the horror, grimness, and spiritual annihilation of the struggle.

Popular sentiment reacted not only against the war itself but against the idea of international idealism and the related idea of American responsibility for some measure of planned control of international forces. Just as there was a popular reaction against the idea of public planning, responsibility, and control in the domestic area, so there was one in the international. In spite of the warnings of ex-President Wilson, whose physical collapse contributed to the failure of his international program, Americans by and large were more convinced of their country's self-sufficiency than ever before. The League of Nations was rejected. Affiliation with the much-circumscribed World Court was considered in official quarters and among large sections of the public as too risky an international commitment. The pronounced noninterventionism that dominated American thought was expressed not only in official policy but in such popular slogans as "Let Europe stew in her own juice."

Far from assuming any responsibility for her well-being, the predominant mood was expressed by the member of Congress who declared, "Right now the United States wants to see Europe do some house-cleaning without delay." Or, as someone else put it, Europe in debt and demoralized must "clean up and pay up." For the most part, Americans looked down on the "backwardness, the decadence, the political chaos" of Europe. They scorned her failure to resolve age-old difficulties. They did not see that profound dislocations almost inevitably resulted from

good behavior, of the fact that Americans sought, and continued to seek, "the Kingdom of Heaven and righteousness."<sup>1</sup> The same theme was developed by Dr. Frank Crane, the beloved columnist. This clerical mentor of the people believed that the only trouble with Europe was that, unlike America, it had never learned to work and to love work. Many thought that America, in exporting factories, techniques, and efficient industrial organizations to Europe, would confer a blessing that might yet rescue the Old World from an almost hopeless decadence.

The harsh rejoinders from Europe to all such talk about American superiority and the Americanization of Europe aroused little response in the United States. In any case, whatever patriots hoped the export of American goods might accomplish in Europe, most Americans agreed with Calvin Coolidge when in effect he called for no importations—industrial, intellectual, or political.

Yet, in the eyes of many patriots, the obvious superiority of the United States was inadequately appreciated at home and required high-pressure methods to sustain it. Many found much emotional outlet in organizing patriotism along professional lines. Superpatriotism was, of course, in part an idealistic expression of an emotion rooted in early training and in the whole culture of the country. "One hundred percentism" also reflected property-consciousness, for patriotism was often associated with the security of property.

But now there were special reasons for a renewal of professional patriotism. During the struggle unity had been artificially imposed by the exigencies of war. Once the crisis was over, the disunity of American society was evident. The IWW reappeared, and strikes began again. The possibility that the old program of reform might be resumed alarmed many men and women of position and substance. Such signs of disunity led to legal efforts to compel Americans to be patriotic and above all to identify patriotism with the security and sanctity of private property. There followed the Lusk Laws requiring New York teachers to take oaths of loyalty and, in effect, of conformity; attacks on social studies textbooks deemed either too internationalistic or too socialistic, and the circulation of black lists stigmatizing even the mildest liberals as "subversive" and "un-American." In addition, Constitution worship became an almost religious cult in certain quarters. Thus the effort was made, in

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Nixon Carver, *The Present Economic Revolution in the United States* (Little, Brown and Co., 1925), 65.

Thus a voice for business spoke out against isolationism. Moreover, business in general looked with favor on any reduction of taxes through the limitation of competitive armaments.

In response to such felt needs as well as to the demands of pacifists and internationalists that the government do something to reduce armaments and make war less likely, the Harding administration cautiously turned its attention toward the financial stabilization of Europe and the problem of limiting armaments. But only in the Pacific, where the maintenance of the existing equilibrium seemed imperative, was constructive action recorded; the Washington Disarmament Conference performed useful if limited functions. Apart from these evidences of internationalism, the most striking contradiction to the prevalent sense of self-sufficiency was the continuation and refinement of imperialism in Latin America. But Latin America, of course, was regarded as within our own sphere of interest.

### "Farewell to Reform"

International cooperation and leadership for world peace were not the only value of the preceding period to be largely overshadowed in the postwar decade. From the time of the Populist uprising to the second election of President Wilson in 1916, political, economic, and social reform had been an impressive element in American thought. At the end of the 1920s, however, John Chamberlain, surveying the preceding decades, could entitle his survey *Farewell to Reform*. Frederic C. Howe, a veteran champion of municipal improvement, struck a note of defeat in his autobiographical *Confessions of a Reformer*. Lincoln Steffens, whose muckraking had been so spectacular, expressed a disillusionment with reform and muckraking and even suggested that America would achieve socialist goals under the auspices of beneficent capitalism.

The prevailing mood in American literature thus did not represent a development of the school of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, Jack London's *Martin Eden*, Ernest Poole's *The Harbor*, the proletarian poems of Giovannitti, or the critical essays of Randolph Bourne, Max Eastman, and Van Wyck Brooks. The doctrine of the Social Gospel did not disappear from Protestant thought, but no book in this tradition enjoyed the vogue that Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps* had enjoyed. Indeed, no other book on a religious subject could touch the popularity of Bruce

Nebraska for public ownership of electric power and for the removal of legal barriers against the use of injunctions in labor disputes. However lush the new prosperity was in certain quarters and however extensive it was reputed to be, real wages of unskilled labor, and in some degree of skilled also, remained more or less stationary from 1923 to 1929, the high tide of the new prosperity. The income of the lowest tenth, largely the poorest of the marginal farmers, actually decreased. It was, in fact, only the upper 10 percent of the population that enjoyed a marked increase in real income. But the protests which such facts might normally have evoked could not make themselves widely or effectively felt. This was in part the result of the grand strategy of the major political parties. In part it was the result of the fact that almost all the chief avenues to mass opinion were now controlled by large-scale publishing industries. These seldom featured the shadows in the picture.

Yet even if relatively few heard the articulated protest, its survival indicated that beneath the surface all was not well. Vigorous articles exposing ailments in the social, political, and economic areas filled the pages of *The Freeman*, *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and other organs with slender constituencies. Revelations of shamefully inadequate housing and of lack of basic decencies among the urban masses found their way into the *Survey Graphic*. The same grim squalor was revealed in *Jews Without Money*, the autobiography of Mike Gold, one of the few men of letters to maintain the old radical literary position of the *Masses* group with which John Reed had been associated. The conflict in ideas was also reflected in the never-ending stream of novels from the pen of the veteran reformer, Upton Sinclair. In addition to his novels, those of Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, and others, if they did not represent an out-and-out reform ideology, did, as we shall see, reveal a scheme of values utterly different from that of the dominant social and economic conservatism.

Competent authorities on another level declared that the existing prosperity rested on inflated credit and the wildest promotion and speculation. Income was too unevenly distributed to enable the masses really to purchase consumers' goods and services on a scale sufficiently vast to maintain the overexpanded system of production; the matter was made worse, these critics continued, by the fact that much of the spending was spending not of savings but of future earnings (installment buying). John Dewey, among others, pointed to the primary need of

Opponents of democracy also ridiculed the idea of free choice—a concept basic to democracy—and cited the authority of scientists who held that the whole universe including man was governed deterministically. Although many scientists were already criticizing the concept of scientific determinism,<sup>3</sup> these criticisms were in general not related specifically to the deterministic criticisms of democracy. Henry L. Mencken's *American Mercury* witheringly jibed at the foibles and stupidity of the masses. This periodical owed much of its popularity to the fact that it appealed to city slickers and to good old raucous Yankee laughers. Yet many of its readers considered themselves a sophisticated elite or "civilized minority." On other grounds the "new humanists," led by Paul Elmer More and Irving Babbitt, deplored the debasing of standards by democracy.

The onslaught against democracy cut more deeply into the popular mind than the writings of Mencken, Babbitt, and More suggest. Many a popular novel belittled the values and symbols associated with democracy. In official and semi-official circles the lawlessness identified with gangsterism and flagrant violations of prohibition was sometimes laid at the door of democracy in terms hardly complimentary to that form of government and way of life. An *Army Training Manual* used by the War Department defined democracy as "a government of the masses. Authority derived through mass meeting or any other forms of 'direct' expression. Results in mobocracy. Attitude toward property is communistic—negating property rights. Attitude toward law is that the will of the majority shall regulate, whether it be based upon deliberation or governed by passion, prejudice, and impulse, without restraint or regard to consequences. Results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy."<sup>3</sup>

These criticisms of democracy did not go unchallenged. Charles and Mary Beard's *Rise of American Civilization* and Vernon L. Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought* testified to the vitality of democratic scholarship. John Dewey redefined democracy in terms of the increasingly collectivistic trends in the culture. Such periodicals as *The Survey*, *The New Republic*, and *The Nation*, and such groups as the Civil Liberties Union represented democratic thought and feeling. The plain people themselves were probably little affected by the criticisms

<sup>3</sup> United States Army *Training Manual*, No. 2000-25 (Government Printing Office, 1928), 91.

Public relations counsels, high-pressure advertisers, and salesmen, story writers, columnists, and economists popularized the doctrine that prosperity had come to stay through this new economic policy of high wages, mass consumption, and mass spending. It was an engaging and plausible idea. It appealed to the natural desire of men and women to enjoy comforts and luxuries. It thrived on competition for prestige and the desire to be in the swim expressed by the popular expression, "Keeping up with the Joneses." The amazing spread of the new cult was facilitated by the emphasis advertising and salesmanship put on the ideal of service. "The man who does me most good," wrote the author of *The Blessing of Business*, "is the one who sells me necessary supplies and conveniences at a low price, because of economies of production."<sup>6</sup> Rotarians and Kiwanians put an extra sugarcoating on the ideal of service by insisting that business was the only real democracy, the only true brotherhood of man.

The cult of prosperity was publicized in the most widely circulating dailies by popular columnists, among whom Arthur Brisbane took high rank. But the new philosophy of mass consumption was also popularized by bigger and better advertisements that appealed as never before to the desire for prestige and success. *System*, to cite a single example, carried an ad of the American Laundry Company which announced that 90 percent of American bankers wore starched collars "because it's good business."

With the possible exception of the movies, nothing better exemplified and popularized the cult of prosperity than a new type of folk literature—the human interest and human problem sketches of "actual" men and women that appeared in *True Stories*, a Bernarr MacFadden publication boasting millions of readers. The editors declared in 1930 that the character of the "true stories" contributed by readers had so changed during the decade that the magazine could hardly be recognized by the editors themselves. "From tales of misery and privation and struggle ten years ago, the stories that now pour into us from all quarters of America are tales of ultimate success and happiness."<sup>7</sup> Even the vocabulary, continued the editors, had changed—"just jumped into the car"—"didn't know me in my new suit"—"got tickets for the show"—"went down to the store and bought it on the installment plan." People who had been too weary to want fine clothes, amusements, and thrills; people who had

<sup>6</sup> E. W. Howe, *The Blessing of Business* (Crane and Co., 1918), 39–40.

<sup>7</sup> *The American Economic Evolution* (True Story Magazine, 1930), 8.



Business was heralded for its skill in doing things well with a minimum of effort, time, and expense. Earnest Elmo Calkins, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1928, the year before the great collapse, declared that "the work that religion, government, and war have failed in must be done by business. . . . That eternal job of administering this planet must be turned over to the despised business man."<sup>8</sup> The ideal of efficiency even invaded the home as it had never done before—if we can judge by writers on and for the home. Homemaking, a traditional American concern of the great mass of women, was becoming, at least in many middle-class homes, a profession in which efficiency was given dominant emphasis. The women's magazines featured efficiency in success stories bearing such captions as "Great Men Have Had Great Mothers" and "Being a Great Mother is a Life Work." But the advertisements, stories, and feature articles in the *Woman's Home Companion*, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, and the *Delineator* reiterated the theme of efficiency as the keynote to success in buying food and clothing, mastering etiquette, preserving good looks, beautifying the home, looking out for the health of children, and making marriage happy. Plain efficiency, these magazines would have it, leads to success in promoting moral cleanliness and civic spirit, in using leisure, in dulling heartaches, and in promoting hope and happiness. If the women's magazines gave some attention to ways and means for succeeding in careers in the big world outside the home, they naturally gave more to illustrate the conviction that "they also serve who do the small things well."

Professional perspectives as well as general patterns of thought reflected business mores and especially the new belief in permanent prosperity based on mass consumption. Every profession, whether education, medicine, nursing, law, engineering, or journalism, emphasized the ideals of efficiency and of service to the public. The older professions, after the example of business, endeavored to impose higher professional standards on their own conduct through their own associations in the interest of reducing competition and providing better service to the public; the newer professions, and the multitude of vocations that aspired to be regarded as professions, similarly endeavored to convince the public of their high and efficient standards and their public-mindedness and devotion to the ideal of service. Indeed, public relations became

<sup>8</sup> Earnest Elmo Calkins, "Business the Civilizer," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXLI (February, 1928), 157.

nomenal expansion of newspapers, books, and magazines. The amount of material published continued to increase, as it had done during the forty years before the war, more rapidly than the rate of population. In 1929, about 95 percent of the literate adult population read newspapers, three-fourths read magazines, and about half read books. The total annual output of books was 60 percent larger at the end of the decade than it was at the beginning. The literary and intellectual level of reading materials varied enormously, of course. Careful students of reading interests called attention to the fact that the annual output of fiction doubled during this period. On the basis of an analysis of this reading, students concluded that more people read to forget than to learn. But if much that was read reflected a desire to escape reality, a great deal reflected the desire to "keep up" with current events, and above all to succeed and to improve oneself. Suburban women, despite their interest in golf and bridge and mah-jongg, read more books concerned with the contemporary world of affairs and self-culture than ever before. The plain people who bought the hundred million five-cent booklets sold by Haldeman-Julius included among their favorites the titles on his list that dealt with success, self-help, and self-improvement.

The all but overwhelming emphasis on prosperity and the values attached to it met with sufficient criticism to prove that the intellectual climate of the 1920s was marked by more contrasts than surface appearances indicated. Even on the level of the popularization of culture among the masses or the middle classes, the soft-toned *Ladies' Home Journal* made some caustic remarks on the superficiality of a quest for culture based on commercially motivated "outlines," "quizzes," radio "universities," choose-your-book clubs, and choose-your-art clubs. While the clever commercial folk squeezed profits out of this birth of "Thought for the Many" who did not know what to do with their leisure, the multitude actually supposed, according to the *Ladies' Home Journal*, that they were "getting something out of" working crossword puzzles, reading an outline of something or other, spending an hour with a quiz book that had all the answers in the back pages.

Others criticized the so-called lock step in public schools which resulted from the problems of mass education itself and the emulation of business efficiency. These critics promoted a type of progressive education designed to release the potentialities of the individual child. In response to the scorching criticisms of the ad hoc or vocational inroads

the Protestant church had become, especially in the great cities and even in the smaller ones, an institution increasingly concerned with social and civic improvement. This may account for the fact that in a predominantly secular period church membership and church wealth were maintained on a high level in comparison with the preceding decades.

The general serenity in the more theologically liberal Protestant churches did not prevail in many rural sections in the South and West, where leaders and people often continued to see in science a menace to Christian truth. The religiously conservative, or fundamentalists, who accepted a more or less literal interpretation of the Bible, were sufficiently powerful in certain southern states to achieve the passage of laws forbidding the teaching of the theory of evolution in public educational institutions. In 1925 John T. Scopes, a high school science teacher at Dayton, Tennessee, was publicly tried for teaching Darwinism. Defended by the greatest freethinking lawyer, Clarence Darrow, Scopes was defeated, legally though not intellectually, by William Jennings Bryan, who had espoused the cause of fundamentalism with all the intensity he had earlier shown in championing free silver and anti-imperialism. The battle between fundamentalism and modernism had reached its high point. Nevertheless, the controversy, which had shaken a considerable section of the religious world, was an evidence of residual intellectual conflict.

As life became more secularized and science overshadowed religion in many localities and among many groups, the traditional religious sanctions for morals were greatly weakened. Youth, especially among the expanding and prosperous middle classes, not infrequently defied inherited patterns of behavior toward the older generation and the opposite sex. Often attributed to the relaxation of morals during the war and less frequently ascribed to the impact of the new philosophy of mass consumption of luxury goods in the interest of happy and full living, the new concern with breaking the bonds of restraint was probably in part a reflection of the waning influence of traditional religious sanctions and the rising vogue of what was regarded as the scientific conception of human nature and human behavior.

While largely concerned with pushing the boundaries of scientific knowledge into new areas and applying results in the field of technology, many scientists, especially biologists with a bent for popularization,

in biology had put him in the animal kingdom. The new doctrines in the psychological field now seemed to make him a creature of blind impulses and automatic responses to stimuli and to rob him of the last remnants of free will and human dignity. So, at least, it seemed to many who cherished the older religious and humanistic values.

Of the exponents of the new views of human behavior and social relations no one was more hard-hitting and controversial than Harry Elmer Barnes, whose wide-ranging scholarship embraced diplomatic and cultural history, criminology, and the development of social thought. In lectures, books, and articles Barnes dramatized, in what seemed to some critics an oversimplified manner, the new findings of the social and psychological sciences. In a sense Barnes, by showing some of the implications of modern science and social science for traditional concepts of religion and morality, played a role not unlike that of Thomas Paine, who aroused much antagonism in the late eighteenth century when he popularized the views of the Enlightenment.

While the popularizers of the more or less deterministic and allegedly scientific theories of human nature were winning ever larger audiences, the absolutistic character of science was being subjected to criticism by scientists themselves. It is true that these criticisms had begun to be heard long before the 1920s—De Vries and others had raised doubts in regard to determinism in biology; Rutherford had broken down the simple concept of the atom and his work with radioactivity had upset concepts of matter long cherished as final and absolute; and Planck had demonstrated inadequacies in the hallowed faith in the differential calculus. The work of Einstein, Millikan, Compton, and others had also been undermining certain features of the much-venerated Newtonian physics. Now, in the 1920s, the new theories of all these and other scientists made it clear that many of the long-accepted views of the universe were in reality not universal and final law; that the scientists were less convinced of absolutes and certainties within the realm of science; that there existed a universe of relationships as well as one of matter and motion, and that possibly the former was more significant than the latter. Some eminent physicists with a bent for religious and mystical values declared in public statements designed to reach the laymen that the new findings and theories opened the way for the reassertion of spiritual values and truths. The man in the street may not have paid

Ozarks. These machines seemed greatly to release and enhance the power of individuals. Machine operations, by shortening the working day, provided leisure never before regarded as possible. The apologists for the machine insisted that it did not make a robot of the average worker; they maintained that no more than five percent of the population was actually engaged in routine machine labor in which dull and monotonous movements were endlessly repeated. The never-ending multiplication of automobiles broke down barriers of space and gave even the common man an exhilarating control over distance, and the increasing familiarity of almost everyone with airplanes still further symbolized man's new power over time and space. Lindbergh's successful transatlantic flight in 1927 dramatically brought home to the nation man's new power over the seas and the heavens. Moreover, the machine actually increased the power of his senses; the movie in effect gave him a magically far-seeing eye, the talkie and the radio multiplied the powers of his ears and thereby opened up worlds hitherto unknown. The machine age improved decoration and design in mass-made products for common use and promised to give more leisure, more comforts, more amusements, more pleasures to one and all. No wonder that the machine became celebrated as the eighth wonder of the world, destined to set man free!

But there was another side to the story. Those to whom the old craftsmanship tradition was still a genuine value—and these included a diminishing but unknown number of workers as well as sensitive artists—felt that the machine was robbing the worker of the sense of creating a product in its entirety. According to Sherwood Anderson, the machine, in destroying the cunning of the average man's hands, decreased rather than increased his power, his sense of individual responsibility, of effectiveness, of completeness. The machine, declared Ralph Borsodi, made us live to consume, not to live; until we learned again to live for values other than the mere consumption of material machine-made goods, we could not truly live. Still others believed that the machine age, in supplying ordinary people with autos, radios, and dozens of gadgets for comfort and pleasure, had increased the feverish activity and accelerated the pace of living. Another group of thoughtful men agreed with Irwin Edman in deploring the effect of the machine in making leisure and recreation standardized rather than spontaneous.

Serious students of the machine age pointed to still other troublesome problems created by dynamos, motors, the assembly line, and mass

The cult of self-expression and pleasure, especially in the realm of sex, and the corresponding reaction against so-called Puritanism and Victorianism constituted one of the most obvious patterns among both intellectuals and "the flaming youth" of the middle classes. Floyd Dell in his *Intellectual Vagabondage* tells how, even before the war, the rising generation of intellectuals had begun to rebel against the genteel tradition and the Victorian code. In the writings of Oscar Wilde, Frank Harris, George Moore, George Bernard Shaw, Havelock Ellis, and Ibsen, and of Baudelaire and other French primitivists, this group learned to regard sex not as a mystery, not as a hallowed, sentimentalized, idealized experience never to be indulged in except after marriage, but rather as a natural enjoyable bodily function common alike to women and to men, and not inherently sinful.

Even before America's entrance into World War I the novels and verse of Theodore Dreiser and Edgar Lee Masters reflected the rising revolt against the conventional treatment of sex by the writers of the genteel tradition. The breakdown of many inhibitions during the war, the popularization of Freudian and behavioristic psychology, and the growing economic independence of women on all levels explain in part the widespread defiance of traditional sex morals during the 1920s. The general reaction against conventional moral idealism contributed, of course, to this revolt. The sophisticated treatment of sexual freedom in the writings of James Branch Cabell, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Carl Van Vechten, and Scott Fitzgerald; the more whimsical and poetic treatment of the same theme by Sherwood Anderson and Floyd Dell; and the naturalistic, behavioristic, hard-boiled treatment by Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos and Theodore Dreiser, the pioneer in the movement, did not exhaust the nuances characterizing the new concern with sex. D. H. Lawrence and Mable Dodge Luhan, with their disciples, preached the mystically romantic gospel of "the wisdom of the flesh" and of salvation through indulgence in "the wise vices of the body."

Nor was the new cult of sex freedom and indulgence limited to the literati or to the gin-drinking, carousing, living-for-the-moment college youth pictured in Scott Fitzgerald's *This Side of Paradise* and *Tales of the Jazz Age*. One-fourth of the entire radio space in 1928 was given to passionate jazz tunes that bore such titles as "Baby Face, I Need Lovin'," "Hot Mama," "Burning Kisses," "I Gotta Have You," and "Hot Lips." Haldeman-Julius reported that sex ranked first in popularity among the

about novels of Theodore Dreiser and John Dos Passos, but such best sellers as Sinclair Lewis' *Main Street*, *Babbitt*, *Dodsworth*, and *Elmer Gantry*, held up to ironical scorn city boosting, small-town snooping, and the philistinism, optimism, and materialistic complacency of the cultists of prosperity.

No one dealt more realistically and at the same time more wistfully with the American cut of success than Ring Lardner. His popular stories and quips depicted with a kind of poignant satire the over-inflated ambitions of baseball players, golf caddies, shop girls, and other commonplace simple souls to be somebody. In his stories these ambitions almost inevitably turned out to be ridiculous, ending in pathetic frustration; the society of the 1920s, which paid so much lip service to "success" and to opportunities for everyone to get big money and be somebody, in reality had chiefly rebuffs for the naïve, simple-minded, expansive little men and women who fell prey to shibboleths of success. In so far as the 1920s were mirrored in the stories of Ring Lardner, and some critics believe they were, the stories show that the outward complacency and optimism and the affirmations of the plain people were only part of their lives. If in that decade intellectuals alone made explicit the limitations of an acquisitive culture, the events of the next decade were to make explicit the latent confusion and frustration of the plain people.

The literary deflation of optimism was not the only indication of revolt against the genteel tradition. Some read and agreed with Spengler's *Decline of Western Civilization*, with its inevitable gloom, defeatism, and anti-intellectualism. Others enjoyed Santayana's beautifully written philosophical essays on skepticism and animal faith. American prosperity provided sufficient income to a considerable group of intelligentsia to enable them in Greenwich Village or on the Left Bank to turn away from the American scene and concern themselves with esoteric abstractions of Dadaism or the profound psychological insights of Marcel Proust or James Joyce's exciting use of the stream-of-consciousness technique in *Ulysses*. Others, in their own serious works of art, reflected the boredom, the languor, the meaningless sophistication of the "lost generation" who, like the characters in Hemingway's novels, lost themselves in drink, sex, and the acceptance of the tragic dissociation of force and intelligence.

The preoccupation with subjects other than the larger economic and cultural issues in American society was condemned by a small group of

acquisitiveness, a small group was exploring the rich body of American folklore and folk art which writers and painters had so largely neglected. This interest, which Ruth Suckow, Bernard de Voto, and Constance Rourke represented, was to come to flower in the 1930s.

### The Quest for Certainties

In his defense of the Puritan and democratic traditions as he understood them, Stuart Sherman led the way in the quest for certainties. But the seeds he scattered fell on barren ground. Even the scholarly evaluations of the American past which pointed to so much that was not only admirable but significant—the evaluations of Turner, Parrington, the Beards, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., to name only a few—failed for the time to provide the assurance that was so needed or to answer the yearning for more certain values which so many felt in the midst of their confusion. Neither did the example of T. S. Eliot in affirming the value of the Catholic and classic traditions satisfy any considerable number among the intellectuals. The plain people, of course, never heard of the author of *The Waste Land*.

A gifted group of writers, essentially humanistic and modern in spirit, believed that nothing was so futile as the effort to escape the existing realities and conflicts so poignantly phrased by Joseph Wood Krutch in *The Modern Temper*. Krutch himself did not overstate the difficulties involved in finding satisfactory solutions—new roots, new codes, new certainties. We have seen that such students of technology as Stuart Chase and Lewis Mumford and such philosophers as Irwin Edman tried to assimilate human values to those of the machine. Walter Lippmann in his *Preface to Morals* sought for some certainty, at once scientific, naturalistic, and pragmatic, and yet with a core of permanence; but in the eyes of his most sympathetic critics he did not entirely succeed. Taking account of the reaction in many scientific circles against the older and cruder determinism that was exemplified in the work of the theoreticians of relativity, Alexis Carrel, Harry Emerson Fosdick, and others searched for a reconciliation of science with spiritual values. But all these quests for certainty reflected the difficulty of making new syntheses.

America's most eminent and original philosopher, John Dewey, had



## Crisis and New Searches

*Blight—not on the grain!  
Drought—not in the springs!  
Rot—not from the rain!  
What shadow hidden or  
Unseen hand in our midst  
Ceaselessly touches our faces?*  
—ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, 1935

*I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn would not defend every one in the nation against want and privation.*

—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,  
*Fireside Chat*, December 29, 1940

Even in the midst of the first shocked bewilderment following the crash of 1929 our indomitable American optimism still held firm. Those who had lost everything blamed themselves, or a banker or a broker or a political party, but did not think of questioning the basic soundness of our social and economic structure. There was much talk about this being just one more depression, similar to the many that had characterized our economic history and from which the country had always recovered. The only thing to fear is fear, editorial writers repeated, one after another. President Hoover assured the American people that "the fundamental business of the country, that is, production and distribution of commodities, is on a sound and prosperous basis."

backwash of the World War and to point out that the collapse was world-wide in character.

Writers, scholars, and thinkers had occasionally been shocked by earlier economic dislocations into making fundamental inquiries into the nature of capitalistic economy, but they had always been a small minority and they won only slight hearing. Now, as public libraries ceased purchasing books, as public schools shortened their terms, found it impossible to pay teachers, and in many instances closed their doors altogether, the implications of the depression for cultural life became starkly apparent. Sixteen small colleges closed. Hundreds of others reduced salaries as student enrollment decreased. Foundations were compelled to cut by nearly three-fourths their annual grants for scientific research. "The climate in which the foundations lived and flourished," wrote Frederick Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation, "changed from one of optimism to one of acute pessimism."<sup>1</sup>

It was natural for a growing company of intellectuals to express the general sense of emergency and to question the capacity of the existing economic system to weather the crisis. Such doubts found a wide expression in novels, plays, and critical reviews, in a revival of pamphleteering, in discussion groups, and on the public platform. The literary figures of the 1920s who had protested that business enterprise "could not provide for the needs of the spirit" now maintained, in the words of one of their spokesmen, that it could not even provide men with food and clothing. "We are facing a new era," wrote Louis Adamic. "This is a time of transition and profound frustration, of agony and decay."<sup>2</sup>

Even more impressive than the doubts of men of letters were those of economic and legal authorities. Thurman Arnold, a Yale professor of law, saw in the capitalism that had been hailed as an absolute good a mere complex of myths, slogans, and rationalizations. When economists traced a sharply rising curve of "prosperity" from 1934 to 1937 and when this so-called "statistical prosperity" failed to result in widespread re-employment and general prosperity, many found additional reasons for believing that the depression differed fundamentally from earlier depressions. Dean Donham of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, viewing the economic plight with grave concern, ob-

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the President and Treasurer of the Carnegie Corporation for the Year Ended September 30 1941* (New York, 1941), 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, CLXIV (January, 1952), 178.

shared by many millions of unemployed, by millions whose shrunken income now called the piper's tune.

The national cult of optimism was still further limited by the effects of the depression on the status of women. The expanding economic opportunities from which so many ambitious women had profited in the 1920s now shrank and in shrinking dealt blow after blow at women in the professions, in the arts, and in business. Feminists regretted that the new turn of events undermined the progress women had been making in attaining self-realization apart from biological functions. Outspoken veterans in the feminist movement took women to task for supinely accepting their lot in the home, for resigning themselves to a "retrogressive" step. The revelation that women's magazines contained little discussion of great public issues and that millions of women read only these magazines still further depressed those who had foreseen the advance of women as voters and citizens. They might not have been so depressed, of course, had they been able to study parallel analyses of the reading habits of American men.

In one matter, to be sure, freedom for women did make gains. About 1930, partly no doubt as a result of the depression, the stubborn opposition to birth control rapidly weakened, and despite the firm stand of the Catholic church, court action permitted the dissemination of contraceptive information under medical direction. In the prevailing mood of pessimism some intellectuals, at least, agreed with Dorothy Thompson in regarding this long-sought achievement as a symptom not of progress but of dissolution. "There is something basically wrong," she wrote, "with a society in which the affirmation of life itself, the will to live and to create life, becomes atrophied. No amount of civilization, culture and technical achievement will save such a society in the end. The barbarians, with healthier instincts, will eventually inherit it."<sup>6</sup> Probably only a small number of men and women deliberately refrained from becoming parents because they were imbued with despair regarding the future destiny of offspring. But it was nevertheless true that whereas the generation that was passing had taken large families as a matter of course without ever questioning the possibility of a good future for all their children, a growing number in the rising generation at least discussed the question.

<sup>6</sup> *Ladies' Home Journal*, LIV (May, 1937), 12.

rather than any other shall happen."<sup>8</sup> In many circles it became less common to assume that all processes are strictly determined. Some even questioned the venerable scientific doctrine that the future is an inevitable outcome of the present. In the words of an interpreter of the new tendencies,

The General Theory of Relativity brings us to a picture of the cosmos in which space by itself and time by itself have ceased to exist, and the blend of the two has become a supple theater for events. The theater continually changes with the events which it stages. Not only is space-time moulded and transformed at every point by the matter and motions which it contains, but the very rules of the geometry by which its manifold is measured are shown to be relative, and the relations are expressed in purely physical terms.<sup>9</sup>

The universe, in short, was in the expositions of one school of scientific thought conceived to be without "hitching posts." The principle of indeterminism, of uncertainty—at least as popularly interpreted in the "quality" magazines—appeared to be the only principle anyone could be certain of, if indeed he could be certain even of that.

It is true that many eminent scientists continued their investigations and their interpretations of these new conceptions, greatly interested in them but not disturbed by them. That the plain people were unaffected by the uncertainties raised by the indeterminacy principle was no less true. Yet at the same time the expositions given to the more or less thoughtful lay public in the more popular highbrow periodicals added another note to the confusion and the general feeling that all the old props were disappearing.

Reasons for the vogue of indeterminism become apparent when one tries to picture scientific activity in the 1930s. New and highly significant experimental findings portrayed a physical universe in which macrocosm and microcosm were in process of incessant transformation and flux. Biological developments were spectacular and unsettling. Theories of nutrition were revolutionized by the newly discovered vitamins. Concepts of the origin, nature, and conditions of life itself were

<sup>8</sup> J. W. N. Sullivan, "The Mystery of Matter," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLVII (May, 1936), 363.

<sup>9</sup> George W. Gray, "No Hitching Posts," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLVII (February, 1932), 252.

chology now appeared far less simple, and to many far less useful, than it once had seemed. In cultivated circles there was a decided reaction against the oversimplifications of John B. Watson which once had captured popular fancy, just as the psychologists themselves were reacting against previous oversimplifications. Thus both the psychologists and their followers were ready for new complexities—and this readiness left open a door for mysticism.

Mystical implications in the work of some of the newer physicists doubtless influenced the psychologist, J. B. Rhine of Duke University, who maintained that experiments in extrasensory perception refuted the prevailing theory that sensation and perception have a purely biological and mechanistic basis. Both the experiments and the interpretations were received with great skepticism by members of the American Psychological Association, who, however, advocated careful research on the problem. Less informed and more credulous general readers, groping for religious-scientific reaffirmations, were heartened indeed by Professor Rhine's new proof of "spiritual powers."

One might suppose that training in physics, one of the most exact of the "natural sciences," would produce in its followers resistance to mystical explanations in scientific fields, an insistence on suspended judgment until adequate data are at hand. But it seems that this is not the case. The physicist is as likely, apparently, to be led beyond the facts by his emotions as any scientist—perhaps more likely. One recalls the case of Sir Oliver Lodge, who was perfectly willing to be convinced by evidence no competent psychologist would accept.

When one considers the experimentation on the nature of matter and energy with its ceaseless revelation of new mysteries, one can understand how in those so inclined such study might encourage mysticism. During the first quarter of the century the doctrine of relativity not only permeated the scientific world but gave great aid and comfort to the tender-minded laymen who needed evidence in support of "spiritual values." In the postwar decades, years of trouble throughout the western world, certain physicists brought spiritual comfort to the scientific or scientifically inclined who needed it. The English physicist John Dunn impressed American readers with his effort to show how the future could sometimes be foreseen. Later his countrymen Eddington and Jeans, with their abstruse discussion of the limitations of science, had a considerable vogue among scientists and the intelligentsia in this country. Through

indications of the infinitesimal size of the earth in relation to the universe; the earth apparently bears the same relation to the whole universe that a grain of pollen bears to our own solar system. While Ellsworth and Byrd were discovering hitherto unknown mountain ranges in the frozen Antarctic, aerial and radio explorers were probing the heavens and revealing the existence of even vaster mountain ranges and plateaus in the ionosphere. Edwin Hubble of the Mount Wilson Observatory, a modern Ulysses, was penetrating the secrets of regions the very existence of which had never been suspected. He even photographed "outside" systems or Milky Ways—at a distance estimated to be 5 million light-years. Scientists debated the question whether the universe was, as Einstein had supposed, a more or less fixed universe in equilibrium, or whether it was expanding. Recordings of measurements of it at given times would throw light on the problem. In 1934 Hubble cautiously stated that if what was seen through the largest telescopes was a fair sample and if the density of space was uniform throughout, the universe in that year had a radius of curvature of the order of 3000 million light-years.

As authorities speculated on the inner recesses of the sun, the older fear that its energy might become exhausted was allayed by the calculation that it would shine for at least another twelve billion years. However, scientists discussed the possibility that in the course of terrifying cosmic processes an explosion might occur within the sun which would release such a cyclone of energy that every trace of life on the earth would be obliterated in a second.

These were the uncertainties presented to the searching layman who hoped for reassurance from scientific experiment, calculation, and speculation. In a period of profound economic dislocation and of widespread doubt of the inevitability of progress, the startling discoveries in science provided no new or thoroughly satisfying assurances. At best, a universe vastly more complex, inconceivably more baffling than had hitherto been supposed, challenged further scientific endeavors.

Uncertainties about the physical universe were paralleled in the field of communication and knowledge. The pragmatists and instrumentalists, especially F. C. S. Schiller, an English philosopher residing in America, and John Dewey, had for many years been virtually undermining formal logic, and now their followers were no longer considered radical. Absolutism in philosophy was now cherished only by a minority group.

more precise understanding, at the same time the semanticists added to the sense of baffling contradictions, uncertainties, and confusions of which the 1930s were so full. In the words of Stuart Chase, "A community of semantic illiterates, of persons unable to perceive the meaning of what they read and hear, is one of perilous equilibrium."<sup>10</sup>

The popular mind was less impressed by the implications of semantics than by the growing role of propaganda in modern life. In such articles as "The Poisoned Springs of World News" and "The Pull of the Printed Word" and in such books as *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs* and *The Popular Practice of Fraud*, popular credulity and the manipulation of the people by profit-bent and interested groups were widely publicized. The more carefully refined techniques for measuring public opinion, especially those employed by *Fortune*, the Institute of Propaganda Analysis, and the Institute of Public Opinion, extended knowledge of the psychology of propaganda and public opinion; but the doubt cast upon the efficacy of long-accepted concepts of public opinion helped to add to the general sense of skepticism, uncertainty, and disillusion.

The doctrine of relativity, it will be recalled, had already affected the social sciences in the decade after World War I. The general confusion of the 1930s, the vogue of the semanticists, and the influence of the German sociologists of knowledge, especially Karl Mannheim, provided a more receptive atmosphere for the considerations which Becker, Beard, and other scholars had already brought to the attention of their colleagues. In a witty and penetrating little book, *The Discussion of Human Affairs* (1936), Beard urged those concerned with social matters to distinguish between the little they *knew* and could *prove* and the much that they approved, longed for, and loved. Like Mannheim, Beard emphasized the importance of the sustained search for facts, for knowledge, for as much objectivity as possible. But he pointed out that values are subject to constant change and are affected by realities often regarded as extraneous to them; that facts, meanings, and interpretations are defiantly elusive; that all social knowledge is contingent, that there are no absolute norms. Such ideas were upsetting to those who had thought objectivity possible and presumed that their own work was really objective.

<sup>10</sup> Stuart Chase, "The Tyranny of Words," *Harper's Magazine*, CLXXV (November, 1937), 569.

nority parties, Marxism was acclaimed in widening circles as the new gospel. The success of the Five-Year Plan in Russia, in contrast to the economic breakdown at home, seemed to prove the inability of the middle-of-the-road liberals to accomplish reconstruction. Students of economics, sociology, history, and philosophy, including Lewis Corey, Max Lerner, Louis Hacker, Dr. Henry Sigerist, and Sidney Hook, related Marxism both to historical developments and to the current American scene. Such literary critics as Vernon Calverton, Granville Hicks, Newton Arvin, Edmund Wilson, and Malcolm Cowley, and such creative writers as Theodore Dreiser, Genevieve Taggard, Clifford Odets, John Dos Passos, and James T. Farrell were in greater or less degree impressed by Marxism. In spite of over-mechanical structures and faulty conceptions of human nature, such novels as *Call Home the Heart*, *The Disinherited*, *To Make My Bread*, and *Native Son* were heralded as Marxist literary triumphs. The communists among the intellectuals succeeded in enlisting the support of so-called "fellow travelers" in opposing fascism, in supporting strikes and the militant demands of left-wing labor leaders, and in publicizing violations of civil liberties.

The influence of Marxism was less widespread and deep than most radicals believed and most conservatives feared. Despite setbacks, the New Deal proved itself to be a going concern. It thus provided an effective argument against the Marxist contention that reform was impossible, or, if possible, destined to be of little consequence.

The trials of the "Old Bolsheviks" in the Soviet Union and the later pact between Stalin and Hitler discredited the Russian Revolution in the eyes of many of its supporters. In spite of the subsequent tendency to justify the trials and the Russian invasion of Finland and Poland, Marxism did not recover from these successive blows. Intellectuals who had been attracted by it came to question whether it was an adequate instrument for understanding the American scene or for resolving American problems, whether it was not too mechanical, doctrinaire, and unrealistic to achieve the ends it promised. Yet the impact of Marxism cannot be dismissed as of no consequence. It forced many Americans to consider thoughtfully class relationships and the nature of capitalist economy, of dictatorship, and of revolution. It compelled consideration of historical materialism, of Marxist conceptions of philosophy, science, and esthetics.

Without adopting all the Marxist doctrine, one group of educational



the whole complex of qualities of corporate institutions and factory production.

Among the critics of the educators who espoused reform and democratic collectivism was President Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago. The neo-Thomism of Hutchins and his associates, including Adler, Barr, and Buchanan, was not indifferent to the depression and the quest for security. But it looked not to some golden age in the future in which security would reign, but to a golden age in the past. Without embracing Catholicism, this group advanced an essentially Aristotelian, neoscholastic program, which was based on the assumption that American life had vastly overemphasized material values, individual self-interest, and a soft form of democratic humanitarianism. In consequence the arts and learning had been corrupted by false utilitarianism, and religion had been enslaved as a pampering "social gospel."

According to the exponents of neo-Thomism, man's nature is an admixture of the selfish and base with the rational and moral; it is the job of education to develop the latter. Since these elements are unequally distributed in human kind, since in fact only a small minority are highly endowed with the rational, education must be so planned that the mass receive a training that will fit them for vocations and citizenship. This can be accomplished through emphasis on the "essentials" in the elementary schools and on subjects of general significance at the high school and junior college level. The universities should be restricted to the education of the intellectual elite. These young men and women should be trained in what the neo-Thomists regarded as the great principles derived from historical experience, the concepts of morality, truth, and beauty; they should be taught not to subordinate these principles to pragmatic uses and values. Through such a reformation of education the neo-Thomists hoped that "intellectual verities" would triumph over what they described as excess materialism, loose and out-of-hand individualism, and false democracy. These, they seemed to think, had brought about a condition of impending economic, social, and moral collapse. In their eyes the cure lay in a return to the great classics of the past, to first principles.

Critics of neo-Thomism saw fascist implications in its indictment of democracy and humanitarianism and its doctrine of the elite. But they realized that fascism drew its chief strength from other sources, both

in *Liberty* an article in which he likened the National Guard to "storm troops" that might preserve order by putting down labor unrest. Although many refugees arrived from Europe and found genuine sanctuary, anti-Semitism was certainly not decreasing as the decade drew near its close.

Above all, there was much talk about the need for national regeneration, leadership, discipline. Some insisted that the American character had become "flabby" and overfeminized. Decrying the influence of humanitarian zeal for the weak and jobless, Raymond Pearl declared that the relief of the inept was virtually contrary to biological law inasmuch as no living organism unable to fend for itself had long survived.

Of the many formulas for recovery, none was so widely accepted and so well implemented in legislation as the body of thought that came to be known as the New Deal. Its point of departure was the belief, long prevalent in this country, that scientific techniques were well enough developed and that sufficient natural resources were available to make possible an economy of abundance in which everyone could live an eligible life. The basic idea was one of a balanced economy in which government sought to maintain within the framework of capitalism an equilibrium between the producer and the consumer, the manufacturer, merchant, and worker. In a general way this idea had been suggested by Henry C. Carey in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and it had been elaborated in the early decades of the twentieth by such writers as Simon N. Patten, Herbert Croly, and Walter Weyl.

The concept of a balanced economy in which neither private property nor production for profit was relinquished involved many related ideas. The gradual advance in both the United States and Europe of collectivism, that is, the theory of a centralized and socialized state in which political and economic institutions are closely integrated, had familiarized many with the idea of enlarged state functions in the interest of public well-being. Nor was the extended use of public credit for public benefits, economic, social, and cultural, entirely unprecedented. In many areas of American life the use of the expert in public affairs had paved the way for the so-called "Brain Trust," for the vast expansion of trained personnel incident to the advance of a public service state. In private industry and in municipalities economic and social planning had made impressive strides. Technical experts had maintained that, despite the lavish squandering of the nation's resources, American economy was

for individual well-being. Support of the new ideas was even more general among youth. Existing student organizations in colleges and a new type of student forum concerned themselves increasingly with liberal political and economic ideas. The rapid development of the American Student Union suggested a growing interest in leftist tactics and objectives.

Outside the college campus, if the Maryland survey of 1937 was a fair sampling, youth showed general sympathy toward the basic purposes of the New Deal. According to the findings of this study, three-fourths of the young people interviewed felt that the government should fix minimum wages and maximum hours of labor, and ninety percent believed that the federal government was obligated to provide relief to the unemployed at a health and decency level. There are long-established and deep-rooted precedents in American thought for these ideas, but the widespread favor they now enjoyed marked a new chapter in the intellectual history of the nation.

The new chapter becomes the more significant when account is taken of the direct impact of the New Deal on the agencies of intellectual life and on the creative spirit. Before 1929 the federal and state governments had confined their cultural activities to restricted fields. But in the 1930s the federal government undertook such vast projects for the advancement and spread of knowledge and culture that, for the time at least, the foundations seemed to be quite overshadowed. School leaders, long opposed in principle to federal aid lest it jeopardize local control, now accepted federal grants for school buildings and equipment and for educational services. Thanks in some measure to the financial aid administered through the National Youth Administration, enrollment in the colleges, which had been drastically curtailed in the early stages of the depression, recovered. By the autumn of 1933 more than a hundred thousand undergraduates were being assisted in their studies at a cost to the federal Treasury of \$1,500,000 monthly.

Confronted by a vast unemployment problem, the federal government decided to provide relief to intellectuals through work projects. Thus some forty thousand intellectuals, no longer able to earn their living, became affiliated with the Federal Arts Projects of the Works Progress Administration. For more than six years the Federal Arts Projects provided artists, actors, musicians, writers, and scholars with opportunities for creative expression and for research in cultural fields.

plished. To some all the codifying, indexing, arranging, and classifying suggested the end of an era, an effort to summarize the past, now that all the returns were in, before moving on to a new chapter.

In any case, knowledge and appreciation of the American past were greatly enlarged, especially in the field of folk culture. Many American writers had assumed that their country, unlike the older, more mellow lands of Europe, possessed no folk arts. Thanks to the activities of the Federal Arts Projects, it was now abundantly clear that the facts did not bear out such assumptions. It is true that the migratory habits of the American people and their tendency to build houses of wood rather than of fireproof brick and stone, together with the rapid spread of machine-made materials, had dealt severe blows to the remains of American folk culture. But in spite of the havoc thus wrought, enough remained and now came into the consciousness of writers, artists, musicians, and the general public to demonstrate the richness of the heritage. The growing tendency to rediscover and cherish the American past was in one sense a part of the search for security in an age of dissolution and world crisis; and to this tendency the Federal Arts Projects made a substantial contribution.

Thus within as short a time as a decade after the crash striking changes in ideas about, and procedures in, our cultural and intellectual life had taken place. Research projects involving the work of many people had yielded significant materials for further evaluation by trained scholars. New conceptions of the role of the intellectual and artist in a democratic society had emerged and become realities. Although conceived as an emergency relief measure, the policy of federal support of intellectuals, artists, and actors actually revived on a mass scale ideas cherished by the fathers of the Republic who had visioned cultural enrichment under government auspices. The era of *laissez faire* in the sphere of mental and esthetic activity apparently had passed. The official indifference of government toward the well-being of men and women devoted to ideas and to cultural values had been replaced by a new conception. The common people were gaining a new respect for the artist and the scholar. The general indifference of intellectuals and artists to social issues and public well-being, to the common man and woman, likewise seemed to be ending.

According to Robert Cantwell, the autobiographies of some fifty creative spirits of the pre-depression decades revealed that although their

tion to serve in the Army, and that some 13,000,000 adults could not read a newspaper or write a simple letter.

The achievements of the depression campaign against illiteracy and ignorance obviously left much to be desired. It was significant, however, that whereas in 1930 approximately 6,000,000 adults could not read, in 1940, when the population was larger by some 8,000,000, only 3,000,000 were without some reading ability. The WPA projects could not claim to have been the sole contributor to this progress, but they were undoubtedly a factor. Although no measuring rod, save perhaps the public opinion polls, exists for determining the effect of the public forums on social intelligence, many students of the problem believed that the American masses displayed increasing competence in this area. All in all, then, the New Deal, in addition to providing a formula which stimulated recovery in some degree and effected many overdue reforms, materially narrowed the gulf between the more and the less privileged.

### Reassertion of Old Values

The vigorous spokesmen for the New Deal were quickly answered back—and in the answering, values dear to the hearts of Americans were reasserted. The criticism was led by men and women of property and position, but millions of others shared their general philosophy and saw serious dangers in the new formulas of economic and social planning. They did not talk much about the danger to their own pocketbooks but dwelt instead upon the harm that would come to poor people through made-work and “general pampering.” Their moral fiber would be weakened, their initiative seriously impaired. Private charity could be relied upon as always for the worst cases; the rest should help themselves as Americans always had. After the inauguration of the New Deal there was deep pessimism among men and women who had insisted that the depression was only temporary. Hundreds of articles, essays, brochures, columns, and addresses at meetings of Rotary Clubs, the Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers talked darkly of the impending ruin the New Deal was bringing to the American way of life.

There was opposition on similar grounds even among liberal and semi-liberal groups. Writing in 1937, the popular columnist Dorothy

us not be deceived. We are aiming sledge-hammer blows at the very men upon whom we must depend to get us out of the slough of Despond into which we have sunk in this present emergency."<sup>15</sup> Besides, observed *Liberty* on another occasion, "the poorest man is often the richest in happiness."<sup>16</sup> Our government should leave business absolutely alone; the creator, the true builder, should not be handicapped by taxation. In the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's Magazine* occasional articles expressing the same ideas in more elegant form reached other strata of the population. Thus rugged individualism braced itself against the new order.

One prominent way of meeting the depression consisted in trying to argue it away as being largely "psychological." Good old American optimism was invoked, KEEP SMILING signs were hung up in offices, and popular publications radiated cheer. "There is nothing to fear except fear," wrote the editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. "The silver lining of this present cloud is already beginning to show. Right now we need courage to buy the future instead of selling the present. But first of all we must have confidence in America and its great institutions." Then normalcy would return.<sup>17</sup> The same periodical urged its readers to stop spreading calamity. "It's up to the women to help restore prosperity by maintaining normal living standards, eliminating fear and hoarding, returning currency to circulation, demanding peace and disarmament, tax economy, balanced budgets, economical administration."<sup>18</sup>

Although somewhat less strident than in the golden 1920s, the *American Magazine* continued to spread warmth and confidence. The personal self-help theme found ample illustration. "Strange Ways to Make a Living," "What Worries You Most," "Youth at the Wheel," "Out of Thirty Years' Experience a Broker Tells You What Your Chances Are in the Stock Market," "Business Where It Wasn't," "How to Go After a Job," "He Could Take It," "Times Are Getting Better," "That's Where the Tall Corn Grows," "What Is a Safe Investment?" "A Stone That Rolled Up Hill," "Go to It, Kid, Show 'Em What You Can Do," "It must be the Climate," "She's Doing Her Own Work"—these are fair samples of leading articles in the *American Magazine* for 1933. A

<sup>15</sup> *Liberty*, IX (June 4, 1932), 4.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* (June 18, 1932), 4.

<sup>17</sup> *Ladies' Home Journal*, XLIX (January, 1932).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* (April, 1932), 3.

loving, successful, prosperous, and Happy in Spirit, Body, and Mind, and in every organ, muscle, sinew, vein and bone and in every atom, fiber and cell of My Bodily Form."<sup>22</sup>

During depression days the movies continued, as they had from the first, to provide escape and release. It has been noted that some few dealt with great social issues; but for every *Cabin in the Cotton*, *Dealers in Death*, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, *The River*, and *The Plow That Broke the Plains*, there were thousands of films concerned, as always, with romance, physical passion, humor, adventure, and mystery. The movies of escape included some of the decade's finest art, such as Walt Disney's fairy tales of the machine age. Few would have thought, in the 1920s, that *Snow White* might soon become the nation's favorite heroine.

Reading continued to provide solace and excitement for the masses. Many thousands of people who were above reading *True Confessions* took pride in their enjoyment of such writers as Faith Baldwin. For these people *Collier's*, with its veneer of culture, was a godsend. This magazine, revamped completely, was now challenging *The Saturday Evening Post's* long leadership in the field of mass-circulation magazines. It sold almost three million copies and in 1937 netted gross revenues of \$13 million. The few articles in *Collier's* which were generally favorable to the New Deal were sprinkled among a vastly greater number on "Hollywood fluffies," heavyweight champions, war lords, ski-jumpers, and glittering personalities, with sketches of action, sports, mystery, murder, and "tingling young love." As Hickman Powell pointed out in an article on this magazine, all these pieces minimized psychological conflicts and all were brightly, even flashily illustrated with young men's and young women's "vibrant bodies and gay faces." *Collier's* "bits of information in small capsules," sugar-coated, represented the intellectual level, no doubt, of far more than its three million weekly purchasers.

Some ten million Americans each month paid tribute to the pulps and near-pulps, which made no pretense of featuring even "bits of information in small capsules, sugar-coated." The unimaginative readers who found escape from their humdrum troubled lives in the romantic stories of "infallible heroes" and "yearning feminine arms" relished a

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in George E. Sokolsky, "Giants in These Days," *Atlantic Monthly*, CCLVII (June, 1938), 699.

can past—in Mae West's colorful screen pictures of the gay 1890s or in the sentimental movie dramatization of Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*. The amazing vogue of *Anthony Adverse*, *Gone with the Wind*, and *Oliver Wiswell* likewise testified to the charm that an unrecoverable past held for many people.

As the threat of totalitarianism abroad enhanced the feeling of insecurity, more and more writers called upon American traditions to provide both security and strength. Van Wyck Brooks, Howard Mumford Jones, John Dos Passos, Archibald MacLeish, and others either became critical of much of the "international" and "modern" accent of the literature of the 1920s or sought in the American past a credo and a fortress. Almost insensibly people who had turned to our past for entertainment alone found themselves viewing it with pride and affection. Those who had taken democracy for granted began to think about its meaning as they read books like *The Wave of the Future*. Before the 1930s were over, more absorbing problems even than those of the depression were forcing Americans to reexamine their heritage, to take stock of themselves as never before.

Thus the response of Americans to the economic dislocation took a variety of forms, old and new. From an early point in the depression occasional prophets had sounded the warning that yet another escape might be forced on the American world—the escape of war. Such an escape was not sought; it came, feared, unwanted, unprepared for.

### The Challenge of Totalitarianism and War

By a curious turn of affairs one of the first noticeable effects of the growth of the various forms of fascism in Europe was the enrichment of American intellectual and cultural life. The expulsion of some of the most gifted scientists, artists, and literary men from Italy and Germany meant an enhancement of the cosmopolitan tone and the distinction of cultural life all over America. The University in Exile, established in 1932 by Alvin Johnson and ultimately organized into the graduate faculty of the New School of Social Research, harbored great minds and personalities. Every leading American university and many colleges profited from the presence of refugee scholars. As the life of the mind and spirit in European countries was subjected to regimentation, propa-



those who held that the only security for democracy was to reinvigorate and expand it at home and those who maintained that the only defense in a shrunken world was to give aid to all those still resisting the overwhelming menace with their lifeblood.

Although the noninterventionists triumphed in the Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937, other signs indicated that the tide was turning toward interventionism. When France collapsed in the early summer of 1940 a group of intellectuals led by Van Wyck Brooks, Lewis Mumford, and Archibald MacLeish charged American scholars and writers with having been indifferent toward the totalitarian advance, and pictured them as working on in their own ivory towers unaware of the danger to all the values of the mind involved in the Nazi onslaught. The indictment occasioned much discussion in which it was pointed out that many intellectuals had in fact long been awake to the danger. Some had repeatedly warned the world that catastrophe could not be avoided unless great sacrifices were made and by deed as well as by word had indicated their own willingness to bear their share of these sacrifices.

As war crept closer, always against the wish of the great majority of the American people, as step by step aid was given to the democracies resisting the totalitarian onslaught, a larger number of men and women, both among the intellectual leadership and the rank and file, realized that fascism menaced much that Americans had long held precious. The traditional American love of individual freedom, opposition to regimentation, devotion to fair play and the doctrine of live and let live, and above all, loyalty to the ideal of a moral law—these values seemed clearly jeopardized. As intellectuals wondered whether democracy and the life of the mind could survive the totalitarian menace abroad and the ominous fascist-like patterns of thought at home, and as more and more plain folk sensed that what was at stake was their way of life, the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor.

as an active force became dominant in the United States, and indeed throughout the world.

This militant nationalism was supported by the articulate at all levels—by the men on the street and in the country store, by city and rural editors, by magazine writers, preachers, and poets, by college professors and scientists, by officials and diplomats. There was not much analysis of the concept of nationalism itself, except by a few intellectuals. But the renewed vigor and influence of the idea were clear, even though largely implicit and to be inferred from attitudes taken and policies advocated.

Besides this overarching concept of the war decade, other more or less related concepts and doctrines were involved in, and were in various ways affected by, the war. The meanings of individualism, communism, humanism, progress, and democracy were pondered. Esthetic and religious doctrines received new emphases, as did the nature of man and of the universe itself. In the first half of the 1940s the war seemed to give at least a surface unity to almost every aspect of intellectual life.

The resurgence of militant nationalism explains, at least in part, the official nature of much of the intellectual life of the time. The role and weight of government was seen in directed propaganda and information, in the intercultural relations programs, the national monopoly of atomic power, and the federal subsidies to scientific investigation. It was seen in the influence of the military on research and on educational programs and personnel. Official views were reflected in the group reports on schools, universities, the press, and civil liberties. The individual well-springs of intellectual endeavor and expression did not dry up, as the names of Niebuhr, Eliot, Beard, Hutchins, Lilienthal, Conant, and Einstein testify. But individual leadership in intellectual life tended to retreat before an expanding officialdom and the mass media of communication. Individual expression became increasingly sensitive to government policy, at least in the discussion of foreign relations. Here, where criticism appeared at all, it was likely to be interpreted as communistic, however far from communist belief the critics might be. In this situation may be found a leading feature of the intellectual history of the later years of the decade and of much of the 1950s—the retreat of the critical attitude toward American life and values which had marked the 1920s and the 1930s. Thus the official aspects of intellectual life take an important place in any survey of the war years and of those that immediately followed.

There was still less flag-waving or sentimentalism about patriotic duty within the ranks of the fighting men. Much evidence—personal testimony, letters, and the results of questionnaires—suggests that the great majority neither gave much thought to the larger social and political problems nor basically changed their pre-Army pattern of thought. To be sure, the new environment wrought certain changes. But there was little broadly based patriotic understanding of the larger meaning of the struggle. While the War Department's Information and Education Department dramatized the war for the Four Freedoms, the average fighting man reconciled himself to performing the undesirable but obviously necessary job of overpowering the enemy. Some critics insisted that the timidity of the War and Navy Departments in neutralizing the teaching materials used during training and the failure generally to adopt the British practice of free give-and-take discussion of the issues of the war and the peace, accounted for this state of affairs. But it is possible that the soldier's lack of perspective and his failure to take seriously the official thesis of the nature and objectives of the war reflected rather the fact that "the country had never made up its mind about its relationships to other peoples, but had merely essayed the impossible feat of being in the world but not of it."<sup>1</sup> The indictment by Karl Shapiro, the best-known war poet, was hardly true of the average GI:

He hated other races, south or east,  
And shoved them to the margin of his mind.  
To him the red flag marked the sewer main.

Rather, the GI, like other citizens, tended to ignore, or to hold in mild contempt, peoples other than his own.

Neither the popular war cartoons by Bill Mauldin nor the novels written by veterans cast the conflict in heroic mold. The Mauldin cartoons with good-natured edge featured the prevailing distaste for the big brass, the military routine and protocol, and what appeared to be the senselessness of much that took place. In fiction the war of waiting was best captured in Thomas Heggen's *Mister Roberts*. To some critics it seemed that in many of the novels, dealing as they did with whole divisions and armies, the individual, seldom a hero, was lost in vast, impersonal organization. Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead*

<sup>1</sup> David L. Cohn, "Should Fighting Men Think?" *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXX (January 18, 1947), 7. See also Cohn's *This is My Story* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947).

by the war must be added an unknown but probably small number of scholars who unobtrusively kept on with long-range investigations.

Certainly the great majority of intellectual workers were directly drawn into the vortex of the struggle, which used intellectual and artistic talents as no previous war had done. Scholars, writers, artists, and teachers fought in the armed forces or became enmeshed in the drudgery of army requisitions. Others joined in the great mobilization of intellectual talents consciously sponsored by the government—a mobilization that included social scientists, philologists, and even philosophers, as well as the scientists and engineers who dramatically discovered the key to the release of nuclear energy. Under the leadership of Francis Biddle forty-two artists went to twelve overseas fronts to record their impressions of the war. Actors from Broadway and Hollywood and musicians from everywhere contributed their talents to the recreational programs in the Army and Navy centers. Some scholars did their war work unpretentiously in their classrooms as colleges and universities opened their doors to give special training to more than one million members of the armed forces.

No agencies of intellectual life made such drastic readjustments as institutions of higher learning. With the major brunt of our military demands falling on youth, colleges and universities shifted as rapidly as possible to a wartime basis. In the men's colleges the depletion of the student body cut the liberal arts program to the bone. Liberal education would have been virtually suspended for the duration except for the presence of women in the academic ranks. Even for them the traditional pattern was accelerated and altered that they might also prepare for special wartime service. The overwhelming majority of colleges and universities accepted short-time contracts with the War and Navy Departments for the accelerated training of personnel in the applied sciences, especially in radio, aviation, engineering, medicine, and nursing. Some institutions set up a course in military government.

By the early months of 1944 more than 1,200,000 men and women had received technical training in these specialized programs. Never before had the United States given opportunities for higher education to such a large proportion of young people. Although administrators and teachers did their best, confusion in directives and even in objectives worked against entire satisfaction in all quarters. In January, 1944, the Army slashed the program despite the outcry from educators that many

The revelation that 676,000 men failed to qualify for selective service on the ground of having received less than four years of schooling shocked the intellectual leadership of the nation. The number rejected for physical deficiencies suggested further that the schools and society in general had paid too little attention to health and physical well-being. Critics within the ranks of professional educators had, to be sure, known something of the educational deficiencies of the country, but the war experience served as a nation-wide survey of these shortcomings. The situation was worsened when thousands of teachers, attracted by the higher pay in industry and in various types of war work, left the profession.

It appeared increasingly clear that if the ideals and aims of American education were to be approximated, the educational enterprise needed a larger share of the nation's wealth. The war further revealed shortcomings in the actual quality of the available education. The widespread deficiencies of young Americans in foreign languages led to an experiment in accelerated instruction in the oral use of language. In creating a demand for personnel trained in specialized knowledge of many areas of the world, the war also stimulated a new type of area study. This combined the development of competence in the relevant language with knowledge of the history, geography, government, economy, and culture of the area. On the assumption that this country was certain to play a more important part on the world stage than it had done in the past, the war encouraged educational authorities to give more attention to international problems.

The special educational obligation to veterans whose training had in many cases been interrupted by the war was a principal factor in the decision to subsidize the vocational rehabilitation of servicemen and to enable those who were qualified, and so chose, to obtain college and professional training. Thanks to the GI Bill of Rights (Public Law 346) which Congress passed in 1944, the trickle of veterans into the colleges swelled to large proportions as the war ended.

Before the war, educational objectives and programs, especially in the liberal arts, had occasioned much discussion. For many years those pre-occupied with the humanities had confessed their concern for the status and prospects of the liberal arts. But the war, breaking down—at least for the time—traditional modes of thought and action, transformed this concern into a bubbling ferment. In countless institutions postwar planning committees pondered the objectives and procedures of liberal education. National committees designated by the American Philosophical

In 1945 Harvard put the stamp of approval on some of these modes of thinking in its much-discussed report, *General Education in a Free Society*. There was little in it that was new; in fact several institutions had long been doing what Harvard now recommended. But the prestige of the oldest and wealthiest institution of learning in the land gave the report a special importance. Like many educational documents, this one represented a compromise between the traditional departmentalization and specialization and the values of general liberal training. Nevertheless, the report broke with the German tradition of higher education imported in the 1880s, carried further President Lowell's reaction against the free elective system, and argued for the value of a common core of knowledge of which no educated man, no responsible man, should be ignorant. This included not only the great humanistic tradition of the past; it also embraced the newer fields of knowledge. Moreover, this core of knowledge was to be treasured not merely for the personal values it carried. It was to be fully geared to the needs of a changing society. Finally, the report emphasized not only the importance of training the gifted but the necessity of educating the masses for good citizenship and for life.

While the war and the prospective problems of the postwar world precipitated these discussions, scholars and scientists contributed their part to the actual winning of the war. In view of the traditional American suspicion of learned specialists, the prestige intellectuals enjoyed as the important nature of their contributions became known was significant. In the most relevant fields investigation was "accelerated," and fresh impetus was given to spot research for immediate needs, the application of existing information to new situations and problems, and emphasis on planning and cooperation. Even before Pearl Harbor the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel listed almost half a million specialists to be called on when occasion required. Now professors and experts flocked to Washington to give a hand in war work. The "man who knows" found himself sought after as never before. Secrecy about much of the work of these scholars was of course imperative, but in time the informed public came to know some part of their contributions.

The Office of Strategic Services coordinated and directed much of this intellectual activity. Historians, political scientists, and economists, as well as scholars in other fields, studied all manner of things—the

achieve their ends, and to the fear of the possible consequences if social science provided causal controls over human behavior. George H. Sabine argued that this conflict in liberal thought reflected "a deficiency in liberal social philosophy itself, or rather a neglect on its part of conditions necessary to realizing its own liberal ideals."<sup>3</sup>

The equivocal status of the social sciences also resulted from the uncertainty within and without the profession concerning the possibility of achieving objectivity by the known techniques. Some maintained that the methods of the natural sciences were only in minor degree applicable to social data. But even if they were, the argument ran, no one, in view of the contingencies and imponderables in man's social relationships, could be sure of his classifications and measurements, or, if he ventured to make them, of his predictions. Thus no one could offer much valid counsel on the most feasible means of achieving the desired ends. Indeed, some even argued that those concerned with social relationships could at best merely study fragments, whether in the past or present, of man's activities and relationships, and reminded readers that even these fragments could be viewed only within a frame of underlying assumptions and values.

Some writers in the field were more optimistic, insisting that the social disciplines had already achieved in many respects the status enjoyed by the natural sciences. Stuart Chase in his popular book, *The Proper Study of Mankind*, called attention to such reliable instruments as the statistical series used in the analysis of economic behavior, the culture concept, and the methods for measuring and predicting the rate of production in industry, for anticipating the reactions of various civilian populations to bombing, for foretelling the behavior of prisoners on parole, and for accurately prophesying the future of the airplane from the curves of the past. Whatever the revelations of inadequacies in polling public opinion, no one could deny that advances had been made in refining this instrument of measurement and prediction.

On the basis of all these and other achievements it was possible to argue that if society or the controlling powers in it were ready to give social scientists support comparable to that given the natural scientists, especially during the war and in the postwar years, the sociologists, cultural anthropologists, economists, social psychologists, and political

<sup>3</sup> George H. Sabine, "Beyond Ideology," *Philosophical Review*, LVII (January, 1948), 4.

the basic structure of the community had been and was and to explain the dynamics of its behavior; and by the well-financed investigation of the Negro problem made by Gunnar Myrdal and his associates, which was published in 1944 under the title *An American Dilemma*.

### The Atomic Era

The many contributions of the natural scientists to the war effort pale before the dramatic dominance of their chief creation, the atomic bomb. Yet even apart from this final fruit of scientific enterprise, the unparalleled mobilization of scientific talent proved its military worth. The need for marshalling scientific resources for total war was evident from the start. So too was the imperative necessity for saving time, for the Axis powers enjoyed at least a two-year start in the development of instruments of warfare. Thus in June, 1940, even before the first conscription, the Office of Scientific Research and Development, headed by Dr. Vannevar Bush, began to mobilize and consolidate science for the war effort.

The war only slightly advanced scientific knowledge on the theoretical level. Research in such problems as the nature of growth and development and the source of cosmic rays remained at almost a standstill. The great emphasis was on the speedy and effective application of existing knowledge. Secrecy surrounded the application and perfection of discoveries even in the field of medicine, lest the enemy profit. Scientific and technological work during the war, however, helped tie theory and practice more intimately together. Competent authorities believed that in time the new instruments developed in the war might be useful in advancing general theory.

Chemistry played a leading role, especially in the development of techniques for rapid and enormous production of synthetic rubber, fibers, and plastics, and the use of DDT, penicillin, and blood plasma. Medicine experienced important advances in malarial control, in surgery and psychiatry. In aviation, and subsequently in naval science, the most dazzling and important advance was the development of radar. The radar wave became man's super eye. It enabled him to observe the outline of terrain despite darkness, clouds, mists, or fog. It lengthened the range of the human eye to a hundred miles, and in thus extending man's senses and powers proved of incalculable advantage in combat. Only



tion."<sup>6</sup> So well had the experiment succeeded that many of the scientists expressed horror at the prospect of utilizing the bomb in the war against Japan, which continued after the fall of Hitler and his regime in Europe before Allied power. Nevertheless, on the morning of August 6 a plane flew over Hiroshima and the city became a flaming ruin. The world was stunned a few hours later when President Truman in matter-of-fact fashion announced the era of atomic warfare.

Even the Japanese surrender nine days later after another bomb had blasted Nagasaki seemed anticlimactic to the American public, which was still grappling with the significance of Hiroshima. True, there was relief and some celebration that the war was finally over, but there was little of the hysterical joy that had marked the end of World War I. Instead there was, at least in thoughtful circles, a sense of fear and distressing urgency as the nation ended a victorious war and embarked upon the problems of peace in an atomic era. Immediately following Hiroshima Norman Cousins wrote an editorial, "Modern Man Is Obsolete," which struck close to the thoughts of thousands who feared that peace was but the prelude to extinction. "The beginning of the Atomic Age has brought less hope than fear," Cousins wrote. "It is a primitive fear, the fear of the unknown, the fear of forces man can neither channel nor comprehend. . . . It has burst out of the subconscious and into the conscious, filling the mind with primordial apprehensions. It is thus that man stumbles fitfully into a new era of atomic energy for which he is as ill equipped to accept its potential blessings as he is to control its present dangers."<sup>7</sup> Nor was there comfort to be gained in later months when the power and significance of the bomb could be weighed in the measure of sober reason. John Hersey's *Hiroshima*, for example, told in unembellished reporter's style the story of those fateful days and left no doubt as to the effects of the holocaust on human beings.

Those chiefly responsible for the making of the bomb and for the decision to use it fully appreciated the grim and far-reaching implications of atomic warfare. Secretary of War Stimson voiced a common feeling when he wrote that the bombs, which carried to a new level the increasingly barbarous and destructive methods of war, demonstrated

<sup>6</sup> Henry De Wolf Smyth, *Atomic Energy for Military Purposes* (Princeton University Press, 1947), 223.

<sup>7</sup> Norman Cousins, "Modern Man Is Obsolete," *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXVIII (August, 1945), 6-7.

The serious discussions of scientists were carried on in all quarters of the intellectual world. These discussions in general revealed an uncertainty, a fear of the implications of science unless technology could be socially and ethically controlled. Again and again the question was asked whether men might learn any lessons from the methods that had introduced the atomic age, whether before it was too late men might learn to think in new ways to meet the new age. It was pointed out that the prevailing gaps between revolutionary science and evolutionary anthropology, between intellect and conscience, between power and wisdom, hardly augured well for the possibility of rational control. For some social scientists the answer was to be sought in the expenditure of as much money, thought, and effort in effecting social controls by advancing social knowledge as had been spent in subduing the forces of physical nature.

The prediction of President James B. Conant of Harvard that the shock of atomic warfare might lead to a reassertion of religious sanctions was apparently realized. Einstein himself, a scientific humanist, testified to the impossibility of dealing wisely with the atomic era by logic alone, maintaining that only "the deep power of emotion which is a basic ingredient of religion" could point home the lesson. But few religious leaders asked for a moratorium on scientific research and its applications. In a notable report a special committee of the Federal Council of Churches refused to condemn science; it merely insisted on a change in the human heart. How the forces of ethics and religion were to bring about the moral control of technology for human purposes was a question to which no easy and satisfactory answer was at hand. Yet in sharply and insistently posing the question, religious leaders made a significant contribution.

In the midst of the early discussions Congress passed in 1946 the Atomic Energy Act, a highly significant event in the intellectual history of our time. The Act, despite misgivings on the part of influential groups in both the Congress and the military, broke with precedents in creating a government monopoly of atomic power hedged about with many prohibitions on private action; in refusing to hand over control to the armed forces; and in providing that as soon as national security permitted, knowledge of atomic energy for industrial and medical purposes would be shared reciprocally with other nations. The law also established an Atomic Energy Commission which, within these limitations, was to operate in a spacious frame. The counselor of the Senate committee

the Soviet Union was called, became acute in the years after 1947, the Atomic Energy Commission pointed to the great public importance of having the citizenry acquainted with the basic facts of atomic energy and with some of its social, economic, and international implications. According to the press and to public opinion polls, this hope was not realized. A group of Nieman Fellows in Journalism at Harvard declared that the press was in large part responsible for this state of affairs: it had failed to do its part in educating the American people. That the public was not well informed was suggested by a series of polls. These seemed to indicate that "public indifference, widespread ignorance, inconsistent thinking, a failure on the part of the masses to understand what their leaders were doing, and blindness to the social and political implications of the atomic bomb" marked the mind of the "average" American.<sup>16</sup> A month after Hiroshima 70 percent of those responding to a poll thought the development of the atomic bomb was "a good thing"; seventeen percent took a pessimistic outlook. By 1947 two independent polls indicated that 38 percent of the respondents now felt that the world was worse off because somebody had learned to split the atom.

There may well have been a relationship between the Cold War with Russia and the growing uneasiness with which the American public eyed nuclear power. In August of 1945 public opinion was split practically even on the question, "Will the United States fight another war within the next 25 years?" By 1947 nearly three-fourths of the persons polled registered a pessimistic belief that the United States would have to fight another war within 25 years. The explosion at Hiroshima had created a psychological and moral crisis. There was widespread hope that this weapon of destruction would make war impossible. But events of the following months showed that even such an awesome weapon could not automatically insure a peaceful world or provide answers to social and moral problems.

Deeply impressed, even before the achievement of the atomic bomb, by the tremendous contributions of science and technology to the war effort, President Roosevelt in the autumn of 1944 addressed a now famous letter to American scientists asking advice on a series of far-reaching questions. How soon and how fully should the story of developments in science during the war be told? What was the responsibility

<sup>16</sup> *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCLX (November, 1948), 269.

concern for the development of a national scientific policy. Science was explicitly recognized as a great national resource to be supported by government, and scientists played roles of importance in advising government agencies and in making decisions that influenced the national life and its future.

that Americans had shown both before and after the Civil War and in the first decades of the twentieth century. While Mr. Justice Douglas regarded the lack of debate as ominous for democracy and indeed for the whole American future, others took satisfaction in what they regarded as a fundamental agreement or American consensus. In their eyes this consensus united the Americans in the struggle with the Communist world.

A good deal of evidence supports the thesis that in the postwar world Americans had, to a considerable extent, foregone fundamental debate, especially in the field of foreign policy. Yet on this and on other matters dialogues, if not debates, did take place among intellectuals. Public opinion polls also indicated a wide spectrum of views on many issues.

### The Problem of Communication

If postwar America lacked the kind of debate that marked the discussion of slavery in pre-Civil War years, the difficulties of communication provide a partial explanation. The problem of communication existed on many levels. The most obvious involved the relation between the experts on the one side and the rank and file of the people on the other. The rapid development of knowledge and its increasing complexity made it ever more difficult for lay intellectuals, popularizers, and interpreters, to keep up with and to understand what was taking place in the sciences, the social studies, and even the humanities. The transmission of information and understanding to the people through commercially dominated mass media—TV, radio, and the press—offered additional difficulties. Moreover, the continued and accelerated fracturing of the intellectual community itself into more and more complex and narrow specialties posed sharp problems of communication among scholars and investigators. All these difficulties were reflected in the fact that no intellectual leaders seemed able to systematize ideas and values in such a way as to command a widespread following. The years after World War II did not produce a representative group of thinkers or a commanding "school" of thought.

In no field of intellectual endeavor was the problem of communication so marked as in the natural sciences. In astronomy and the earth sciences, in the life sciences (especially genetics), and in the physical

exploration of space, there was little public disagreement. The lines of dissent, as well as its possibility, were determined by or among the scientific specialists.

The difficulties of communication and of more and more narrow specialization were also a matter of concern in the social sciences, which made increasing use of complex mathematical tools and psychoanalytical concepts. Even philosophy, which had always at least pretended to provide a viable kind of "summing up" of knowledge, seemed intent on specializing. Unlike John Dewey, who died in 1952, most philosophers seemed content to ignore the discussion of large, complex issues that were close to the center of public concern, and to concentrate instead on the technical problems of epistemology in the field of symbolic logic.

Intensive specialization and burgeoning bureaucracy in science and scholarship reflected what seemed to be the most complex and impossible problem of communication: the difficulty of arriving at any sort of understanding between the United States and the Communist world. There was a solid basis for the conflict between the two power blocs, but this was so continually clouded and confused by scientific and ideological considerations that it seemed no language could provide an efficient and unambiguous method of communication. The increasing complexity of life at home and the apparent impossibility of ending the Cold War created related anxieties in the minds of many Americans and helped give rise to strenuous campaigns to preserve in pristine simplicity the supposed virtues and ideals of "Americanism."

### **Fear and National Loyalty**

The Cold War stimulated a great deal of anxiety over the internal and external security of the nation. This anxiety was enhanced by the realization that in the hydrogen bomb first detonated in 1952, and in the new missiles and space satellites, man possessed for the first time in his long career weapons capable of destroying civilization and even organic life itself. When the Soviet Union's remarkable progress in military technology indicated that the United States no longer enjoyed its initial monopoly and in some ways lagged behind its foe, anxieties and fear reached an intensity that contrasted markedly with traditional American self-confidence.

the approval of the Wallace liberals and radicals, even had Congress more fully implemented them. On the other hand, Truman's domestic policies met with opposition from conservatives in his own party and with bitter denunciation from Republican critics of the New Deal. Disappointed at their failure to capture the presidency in 1948 and to nominate an old-guard leader in 1952, these Americans saw in the New Deal and in Truman's Fair Deal frightening steps towards socialism and communism at home; at the same time they regarded the administration as too "soft" toward communism abroad. To these critics, the Truman security measures adopted in 1947 to discover Communists or "Communist sympathizers" within the government, seemed far too mild. Such a conviction seemed to them confirmed with the disclosure of espionage (Julius and Ethel Rosenberg) and of perjury in regard to alleged espionage (Alger Hiss). If there were some rotten apples in the barrel, might there not be more? Such questions were insistently asked in an atmosphere of frustration, fear, and anxiety.

As the Cold War became intensified, the nation witnessed on both the official and unofficial levels a crusade against men and women deemed "un-American." The criteria for this stigma were far ranging and ill defined. In general, they included membership, past or present, in the Communist party or association with Communists or fellow-travelers; and commitment to measures that the Communists also favored—federal housing, socialized medicine, an end to racial discrimination.

On the federal level the State Department removed from overseas information libraries books by controversial authors. It refused passports to citizens whose views were suspect. Special loyalty boards investigated officials whose records did not square with current conceptions of loyalty and patriotism. In loyalty proceedings questions were sometimes asked which seemed, at best, irrelevant or foolish: "Do you believe in God?" "Do you read a good many books?" "What newspapers do you buy or subscribe to?" "How do you explain the fact that you have an album of Paul Robeson records in your home?" "Do you ever entertain Negroes in your home?"<sup>2</sup> Professor Chafee of Harvard, a leading authority on civil liberties, noted that a Negro bootblack in the Pentagon who had once given \$10 to the defense of the Scottsboro boys was interviewed seventy times by the FBI before he was found worthy of shining the

<sup>2</sup> A. Powell Davies, "Loyalty Needs Better Friends," *New Republic*, CXXIV (February 4, 1952), 11.

as advisers to them, innuendo, attacks on highly placed and respected Army personnel and on the Democratic Party itself, whose record was stigmatized as "twenty years of treason." Adlai Stevenson, a man of learning with a serious interest in ideas and the hero of many American intellectuals, was a special object of attack, both before and after the presidential campaign of 1952 when McCarthyites dubbed intellectuals "eggheads." Especially persuasive to many of McCarthy's followers was the thesis of guilt by association. In speaking of those who had in some way at some time been associated with Communists, McCarthy declared that "the fact that these people have not been convicted of treason or of violating some of our espionage laws is no more a valid argument that they are fit to represent this country in its fight against communism than the argument that a person who has a reputation of consorting with criminals, hoodlums, gamblers, and kidnappers is fit to act as your baby-sitter, because he has never been convicted of crime."<sup>8</sup> If McCarthyism lacked a grassroots and a top-level organization and a genuine ideology, it was nevertheless a central fact in American life until 1954, when a Senate committee censured McCarthy for procedural improprieties and discourtesies.

In view of McCarthyite attacks on intellectuals—the most intense and far-reaching in American history—it is appropriate to consider some of the explanations scholars have advanced for the rise and power of McCarthyism. No one of the explanations of the phenomenon seems in itself adequate; in fact, most of them lack sufficient sustaining evidence to lift them above the level of hypotheses, but all of the explanations represent ideas and analyses advanced by serious students of American life.

Some thought McCarthyism was a belated example of the old Populist grassroots concern with "conspiracy" against the general welfare; the movement reflected the American penchant for sensational exposure of misdeeds and sin, for prying and indifference to privacy. Others, contending that in times of economic hardship the pursuit of clear-cut economic interests predominates, whereas in periods of prosperity like the 1950s the contest is one for vaguely defined social position, thought McCarthy personified the aspirations and frustrations of several groups: newly rich people who sought to achieve a sense of belonging by becom-

<sup>8</sup> Joseph McCarthy, *McCarthyism: The Fight for America* (The Devin-Adair Co., 1952), 79.



ment that his critics were themselves obviously disloyal. A third group of conservatives joined with liberals in attacking McCarthyism as a violation of decency, constitutionalism, and American traditions of freedom of expression and association.

Liberal critics defended with vigor their claim that to dissent was essential to American traditions and well-being. They insisted on the basic difference between criticism and dissent on the one hand and communism on the other. In making this distinction no national spokesman played as important a role as Adlai Stevenson, who did much to make intellectualism politically feasible. In addition to individual protests in the anti-McCarthy movement, the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Association of University Professors valiantly defended the civil liberties.

In the discussion of loyalty which McCarthyism occasioned, few new ideas were developed. Among the exceptions was the theme that Professor Morton Grodzins of the University of Chicago worked out in his book *The Loyal and the Disloyal*. Grodzins brought to bear on the issue of loyalty and disloyalty much new knowledge about the nature of groups. He advanced the idea that disloyalty and treason are not primarily ideological in character but rather grow out of men's social circumstances. Disloyalty, for the most part, is the means by which one seeks, in the frustrations of loneliness, dissatisfaction, and alienation, more advantageous group affiliations. The argument was also made, with some supporting evidence, that the methods in vogue to detect traitors more often created new traitors than uncovered existing ones.

Some liberals took severely to task not only particular liberals but "liberalism" in general for having failed, from the 1930s on, to expose the true nature and dangers of communism at home and abroad and for having defended the civil liberties of Communists and conspirators. Such a failure, these critics argued, made it easy for McCarthy and his associates to identify liberals and Communists. There was some point, no doubt, to the charge. But it overlooked two considerations. One was the fact that McCarthyism attacked liberals for supporting social welfare measures and programs for peace, not merely because Communists also supported them but because, generally speaking, these ideas were anathema, if not to McCarthy himself, then to many of his followers. The second point was that a great many liberals had in fact vigorously opposed communism, at home and abroad, long before McCarthy was

were being challenged as never before by countercurrents; well-established patriotic societies; some Texas oil millionaires who had supported McCarthy; and members of the National Association of Manufacturers who were extreme champions of laissez-faire individualism. Ardent religious fundamentalists also identified themselves with the Radical Right. Some Army, Navy, and Air Force officers, until challenged, indoctrinated rank and file military personnel with ideas that were very similar to the tenets of the Radical Right. The military also lent a hand in the showing of such films as "Communism on the Map" and "Operation Abolition," films which many Americans regarded as distorted propaganda.

Three leaders symbolized varying nuances of the Radical Right. Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona insisted that the government disengage itself from subsidizing agriculture and welfare, abandon the progressive income tax, give up cultural relations programs, and end foreign aid to countries not actively resisting communism. A second leader, William F. Buckley, Jr., agreed essentially with Goldwater but directed his efforts primarily to college undergraduates. Buckley, an able and sophisticated writer and speaker, became a nationally known figure through his book *God and Man at Yale*, an attack on the alleged atheism and socialism of the New Haven institution's faculty. In an early issue of *The National Review*, founded in 1956, he declared that "the liberals control just about everything" and that the time had come to restore American traditions and values. Buckley was a spirited and popular speaker on college campuses, where conservative clubs blossomed, many with their own subsidized periodicals. He also encouraged the Young Americans for Freedom, the national focus of the student Radical Right. Neither Goldwater nor Buckley approved of a third leader of the Radical Right—Robert Welch, a Massachusetts candy manufacturer and founder of the much publicized John Birch Society. Welch wanted to go further than Goldwater and Buckley by undoing everything that had happened in the field of social legislation since 1929. He actualized the idea of a secret, authoritarian organization, which McCarthyism had lacked, but which had forerunners in the Know-Nothing party and in the Ku Klux Klan. His book, *The Politician*, dubbed President Eisenhower, his brother Milton, Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, and Chief Justice Earl Warren as parties to the Communist conspiracy. The John Birch Society, which included a few Congressmen, several

the military on scientific research, education, labor relations, industry, and foreign policy. It was not that ordinary citizens or intellectuals, even those most concerned with preparing America for another possible war, had any liking for military power in itself. It was rather that reliance on force seemed to most Americans the inevitable response to fear and insecurity and to the responsibilities of protecting freedom in the western world.

Intellectuals debated the basic assumptions underlying American foreign policy and whether this policy should be implemented by power or moral persuasion. Some insisted that foreign policy should rest on national interests while others insisted on a normative or ideal criterion.

Military policy from 1947 through the 1950s rested on a few basic ideas. One was the "containment" of communism within its existing territorial domain, an idea fathered by George Kennan, a foreign policy expert. "Containment" involved military strength and the willingness to use it, if Communist aggression could not be otherwise halted. Containment also involved building alliances in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, with military and economic support to the governments of these countries. In addition to containment, official policy rested on the idea that economic and technical aid to the less industrialized but as yet non-committed neutral nations was necessary to prevent these lands from succumbing to Communist aggression, intrigue, or high promises. Point 4, with successive but related programs, including President Kennedy's Peace Corps, implemented this basic idea.

In order to counteract Communist misrepresentation of American aims and policies as aggressive, warmongering, and selfishly capitalistic, and American civilization as too decadent to offer effective aid in the modernization of the newer countries, a program of cultural relations was made a part of official policy. This rested on the idea that minds could be won if it was demonstrated that Communist propaganda about America was untruthful. The idea was implemented by the establishment of the United States Information Agency and by the maintenance of information libraries in foreign capitals stocked with books and periodicals designed to give factual information about America and to further understanding of every phase of American life. The staffs of American embassies were also enlarged to include experts in various cultural and scientific fields. The government also supported the presentation abroad of American cultural achievements in theater, music, art, ballet, and

ranged from a simple statement of limited war and disengagement from commitments to sophisticated formulae involving game theory and admitted imponderables. The "fiasco" of civil defense gave added relevance to the discussion but did not promote a consensus.

Deterrence had its critics. So did the whole atomic arms race, continued atomic testing, and the thorny business of international inspection. As might be expected the Quaker voice was heard both at home and abroad. In 1956 Clarence Pickett led a delegation of Friends to Moscow to try to open a way to understanding and common sense. The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy sponsored by leading intellectuals, local Peace Walks, and the Women for Peace movement were all organized to protest official policy. The militancy of these and other organizations indicated new vitality in the argument against war. But, except for the increased sense of urgency, for the vision of total annihilation, and for the idea of passive resistance, there were few new developments in the peace movement. Absolute pacifism, an ideal long held by uncompromising foes of war, seemed to some a possible answer to an otherwise insoluble issue. In a world of uncertainty this was one example of many efforts in the continuing search for absolute answers.

### The Continuing Search for Absolute Values

In the later 1940s and throughout the 1950s the age-old quest for absolutes was pursued with fresh zest. Men perennially have longed for absolute answers and assurances, but several unsettling developments in the postwar years prompted intellectuals to intensify the search and expand its scope. On every side, man's world seemed more and more contingent, shifting, and elusive. The physical sciences almost daily revealed the uncertain character of what was once taken for granted as physical reality. In human affairs the perilous and increasingly complex quality of life in the age of the atomic bomb and the Cold War seemed to threaten every vestige of what men in other times had been able to count on as sure and dependable. Even the continued existence of human civilization was open to realistic doubt. It appeared obvious, in short, that something had gone seriously awry in the human career.

To many intellectuals the villain of the piece clearly seemed to be the relativism and liberalism dominant in American thought during preced-

disappearance of such an elite could result only in decay and decline. The implication plainly was that the challenge to present-day civilization could be met only by a creative minority thoroughly committed to Christian values, faith, and ideals. These doctrinal overtones of Toynbee's work made it an instrument in the ideological warfare of the late 1940s and the 1950s—the conflict, broadly, between those who subscribed to reason, science, democracy, and the process of trial and error, and, on the other side, those who sought guidance and salvation in a return to philosophical or religious absolutes.

The essentially religious emphasis of the reaction against relativism and pragmatism was illustrated in a collection of essays which appeared in 1947 under the title *Our Emergent Civilization*. The contributors—among others Brand Blanshard, George P. Adams, F. S. C. Northrop, and George E. G. Catlin—rejected determinism, opportunism, and materialism. The ills of contemporary life, the fragmentation of the individual and the confusions and tensions, were, the essays argued, the result of the materialistic and irrational postulates of modern psychology and psychoanalysis, the “anchorless inconsistencies” of instrumentalism, the confusions of relativism, the worship of power implied in the mere acceptance of science. As a cure the group of essayists called for a morality that would do more than merely rationalize individual or group interest. They insisted that men abandon uncritical faith in science and material power, which in no case could save mankind from death and destruction. And they urged a renewed faith in the possibility of discovering and cleaving to absolute values and truths that could satisfy man's deepest emotional and spiritual needs. The best clues in the search for a better life for man lay in what religion at its best had always taught.

Direct and indirect support for this revival of supposedly enduring religious values came from many quarters. T. S. Eliot's erudite arguments for Christian tradition and authority continued to appeal to intellectuals. So did the insistence of the followers of Robert M. Hutchins on the “eternal verities” to be found in religion as well as in Aristotelian and Thomistic philosophy. Under the leadership of President Nathan Pusey, the Harvard Divinity School developed from a traditional home of Unitarianism into a distinguished nondenominational center for theological study. Its faculty included Catholic and Jewish scholars, as well as such leading Protestant theologians as Paul

three-fifths expected to go to heaven. Whereas in Lincoln's day, only one out of five Americans belonged to a church, in the 1948 poll three out of five claimed membership in a church or synagogue.<sup>7</sup> Church membership grew with particular rapidity in the millennial and pentecostal sects. As rural folk migrated, especially from "poor white" Southern areas, to cities and to the Southwest Evangelist Billy Graham, though he did not achieve the following of some earlier revivalists, drew huge crowds. Books on religion, especially those which struck the inspirational and therapeutic note reached by Norman Vincent Peale, made the best-seller lists. At the first Eisenhower inauguration, "God's Float" headed the parade. Congress did its part by setting up a special room in the Capitol for prayer, by inserting the words "under God" into the pledge of allegiance, and by making the inscription "In God We Trust" mandatory on all coins. In 1962 the Supreme Court seemed out of step when it outlawed a simple, nondenominational prayer used in New York schools. But President Kennedy assured the nation that this decision merely provided new reasons to pray more in the home. Several congressmen responded by proposing to amend the Constitution to permit such religious practices in the schools.

Whether all this indicated more than a desire in a highly mobile society to be identified with a church for social advantage or for some other sociological reason, no one could say for certain. But many religious leaders took no satisfaction in outward evidences of piety and faith, and even deplored the frequent association of religion with personal success, prosperity, and health.

The issue of church-state relations continued to be so ambiguous as to throw little light on the question of how seriously Americans took their religious commitments. Actually, separation of church and state had never been a really consistent constitutional policy. In 1947 the Supreme Court seemed to press for a more absolute separation when it ruled that the Constitution prohibits not only any law that gives one religion advantage over others, but also any law that seeks to aid all religions equally. But in 1952 the court sanctioned the New York policy of releasing pupils during the school day for religious instruction. Still later, however, the court disapproved the New York school prayer. The whole issue was further complicated by the Catholic demand for public support of parochial schools, a demand that President Kennedy opposed

<sup>7</sup> *Time*, LII (November 1, 1948), 64-65.

Beneath all apparent flux and change is order and permanence. This is true in political ethics as well as in nature. Therefore, the only true basis for society is a set of absolute standards of behavior. True democracy cannot be a mere art of compromise in a context of majority rule, Hallowell argued. Such a conception of government leaves out the "spirit" and "morality" which must pervade a really good society. Modern liberal and "positivist" governments deny the absolute standards and values which alone can provide the foundations of society. The only protection against despotism from such governments, Hallowell claimed, lies in a reassertion of a transcendent moral order, best expressed in Platonic and Aristotelian humanism.

Several prominent intellectuals, while not identifying themselves explicitly with the New Conservatives, shared many of their views. Walter Lippmann, for example, became a spokesman for the idea of natural law and the necessity of consensus among the members of a society, at least on controversial public issues. In *The Public Philosophy* (1955) Lippmann criticized the radical individualism implicit in some liberal concepts of society, and held up as a model citizen the Socrates who had been willing to sacrifice his life to what he believed to be the good of the state. In the historical guild Samuel Eliot Morison called for a conservative interpretation of American history; several of his younger colleagues were ready at hand. The result of their effort—what one historian called "homogenized history"—played down conflict and emphasized continuity and consensus in the American past. This version of the national story was a sharp revision of the liberal interpretations of Beard, Parrington, and others, who had taught that such democracy as America had achieved was sometimes the fruit of bitter conflict.

The writings of the New Conservatives, and the many other products of the quest for absolutes, did not go unchallenged. An occasional critic like Horace Kallen pointed out that in periods of Western history when "spiritual" and "rational" philosophies had been dominant, cruelty and intolerance had also been common. Or a scientific humanist from time to time insisted that human knowledge was the only knowledge, and that the only true "religion" for man lay in his own creative efforts to express "his highest insights into the meaning of the evolution of life on earth and the development of mind and society."<sup>9</sup> It may even be that the

<sup>9</sup> Oliver L. Reiser and Blowden Davies, "Religion and Science in Conflict," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCLVI (March, 1948), 138.

Yet there was dissent. Able scholars in a volume edited by E. S. Mason of Harvard pictured the modern corporation as dominating not only the whole of the economy but virtually all of society and culture as well. Studies by Gardner Means likewise presented a picture of great corporate power which seemed to support the traditional democratic tenet that big business was incompatible with individual freedom.

Nor was dissent confined to scholarly books. On a popular level Vance Packard's best seller, *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957), piled up sensational examples of the ways in which corporation motivation research manipulated people's images and opinions not only about their dollars but about their adjustment to working and general living conditions.

The stress on organization, teamwork, on taking one's cue from the group provided William H. Whyte, Jr., with a theme widely publicized in *The Organization Man* (1956). Whyte argued, somewhat in the manner of David Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd*, that Americans were giving up their traditional belief in self-reliance, in individual salvation through work, thrift, competitive struggle, entrepreneurship (the Protestant ethic with its "inner-directed personality") and accepting in its place the cult of "belongingness," the doctrine, so congenial to corporate structure, that the group is the source of creativity (the "other-directed personality"). In Whyte's view the new tendency or cult exalted bureaucratic mediocrity and discouraged creativity in every aspect of daily life, in and out of business circles. To be sure, Whyte's focus on the young executive limited his indictment to a small segment of American society. Moreover, Whyte was indicting not so much a sharp change in American ideology as an ad hoc way of dealing with the problems of big organizations (business, labor, education, government). Still his book raised important questions about power and democracy. Insofar as the individual was absorbed into the organization, insofar as power in decision-making was surrounded by the make-believe of general participation, then the "free individual," so central in the democratic faith, was considerably shrunken.

As if to refute these indictments, big business executives and their spokesmen went further in indicating the essential democracy and humanism of great corporations in the age of prosperity and affluence for which they were in so large a part presumably responsible. The Bell Telephone Company and other corporations sent a group of their young executives to universities where they studied, not business administration,



The implications for democracy of the corporate mass media were also debated. Particularly disturbing was the ability of Madison Avenue and the radio and TV networks to create a favorable public image of a candidate for office. In the 1956 presidential campaign Adlai Stevenson observed the inappropriateness of a candidate for the country's highest office being "built up" in the way advertisers publicized a breakfast cereal. To many observers and students the whole apparatus of public relations and mass media might be characterized as "the engineering of public consent" and "the Invisible Sell." Also, the cult of personality, which the mass media facilitated, tended both in the case of Eisenhower and of Kennedy to detract from the serious consideration of political issues.

The mass character of communication together with the complexity of the "big issues" explained in part what appeared to some to be the apathetic political attitude of many Americans. The implications for a democratic sharing of decision-making were obvious. On the other hand, there was a feeling that, if it was impossible to influence decisions in the national arena, the individual might still make his voice heard and his actions count in the local community, especially in the ever-expanding suburbia.

In the discussion of democracy as in that of the economy a major focus of attention was the problem of power. Social scientists analyzed institutions (labor unions, corporations, government) and communities in terms of power structure. C. Wright Mills's controversial and stimulating book, *The Power Elite*, argued that, particularly since World War II, an interlocking directorate of war lords, corporation chieftains, and big politicians dominated the country, in part by skill in using the rhetoric of liberalism when it no longer corresponded to reality, and in the main by exploiting the actualities of the power structure itself. Since, Mills further argued, such concepts as honor, integrity, and ability have only such content as someone chooses to give them, modern America was morally a primitive jungle. The picture in Mills's view was even darker: neither the middle classes nor what passed for pluralism counted as any real check on the power of the new elite. Many critics thought that the book proved too little and too much. It offered too "pat" an analysis, it underplayed the influence of the voting public and the realities of the democracy Mills regarded as defunct. But others thought that his argument made sense. Some years later Richard H. Rovere, *The New Yorker's* witty and clever Washington correspondent, lent some support

ism and democracy; had denied the sufficiency of secular morality, the "unlimited perfectibility of man," the possibility of an objective truth and of impartial judgment in the social studies, and the feasibility of reconstructing society through piecemeal reform. Frankel made clear the historical distortions underlying these critics' ridicule of the idea of "the unlimited perfectibility of man" (which no liberal maintained), and took note of the blindspots in their assessments of man's failures and limitations.

On the positive side Frankel emphasized the dignity of man, the reality of human freedom and of man's rational capability. He called for a revival of Emerson's open-minded conception of human potentialities. Abundant evidence demonstrated the capacity of man to take risks, to make choices, to learn from experience, and to apply what he learned in the quest for social justice and order. True, no one person can learn or experience everything: There must thus be some tentativeness in what one believes, some tolerance, some compromise. But the individual cannot look to the state to fulfill his highest needs: The state, which can only provide a framework inside of which these can be pursued, must always be scrutinized in terms of how well it performs this function. Social inventiveness, sorely lacking and desperately needed, was the essence of the liberal and democratic approach to problems. Inventiveness was preferable, at least in America, to reliance on tradition, to affirmations of inevitable and continuous frustration, and to anguish over sin. Frankel did not present a precise program, and did not in fact advance any ideas really new, but he pointed up the limitations of liberalism's critics and outlined what, in the revolution of modernity, the human imagination must envisage, demand, and seek.

The most vigorous and telling reassertions of democracy, however, fell within the sphere of race relations. The stimulus which World War II gave to democratizing race relations was intensified during the Cold War, for the Communists found it easy to publicize sensationally every incident of racial injustice and thus to further among the non-white peoples of the world the image of America as hypocritically professing democracy and behaving in flagrantly undemocratic ways. During the Truman administration desegregation in the armed forces and in government exemplified the growing feeling that at least on the official national level racial segregation must give way to the equality that the Constitution required. More dramatic was the unanimous decision by

ideas. To some, the significant thing was what segregation did to human relations and personality. Lillian Smith's passionate novels continued to reflect this view. Guilt feelings, conscious or unconscious, on the part of the whites was a note often present in the work of William Faulkner, while Robert Penn Warren retreated from early views that savored of racism. To still others segregation was doomed no less than the whole heritage with which it was enmeshed—the one-crop share system, the dominance of the Democratic party, the political exploitation of prejudice and, above all, the depressing poverty of many whites as well as of the mass of Negroes. Such a position was developed by Harry S. Ashmore, editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*, who opposed Governor Faubus' reliance on state troops to keep a handful of Negro children from attending a Little Rock high school. Still another view was brilliantly defended by C. Vann Woodward. This distinguished Arkansas-born historian documented the thesis that, contrary to a wide belief, Jim Crowism was a late phenomenon. It was, actually, foisted on the South only in the late 1880s and early 1890s and, Woodward argued, behavior that law spawned or nurtured, could be changed by law.

The torrent of words that flowed in the now bitter, now reasonable dialogue over race relations expressed deeply felt emotions and firmly held ideas. The Black Muslim movement reacted to racial injustice by preaching, especially to the impoverished urban Negroes, a doctrine of complete segregation, hatred of the dominant whites, and black superiority. In his Kafka-like novel *The Invisible Man*, Ralph Ellison indelibly set forth the bewilderment, the self-torture, the violence, the rape, and the riot which make it impossible for a Negro, by virtue of his race and rearing, to belong to any level of existence at all. Another gifted writer, James Baldwin, revealed to many readers, in novels and essays, the psychological complexity of race relations: the suspicion and hatred Negroes feel for whites; the impossibility of achieving any true rapport between the races as all whites, even those honestly professing equality, are bound by unconscious prejudice; the helplessness of the alienated, rebellious Negro in the face of the irrational white power under which he has to exist; and the necessity of trying to break through binding stereotypes and sociological abstractions.

The new fight in the South for racial justice can be understood only in terms of the social base on which it rested and of the ideas associated with it. For the first time large numbers of rank and file Negroes, in-

early summer of 1962 Gunnar Myrdal believed that the swift progress made recently by the Negro was astonishing when measured against the preceding sixty years of stagnation. The tragic yet in some ways heartening events in Little Rock, New Orleans, Knoxville, Greensboro, and Montgomery served, Myrdal went on, to stir the conscience of the American people, to help make it impossible, morally and politically, to defend much longer a fixed position of inferiority for the Negro citizen. The author of *An American Dilemma* predicted that "with the rising levels of education the hold of [the Constitutional ideal of equality] will be continuously strengthened."<sup>12</sup> If Myrdal was right, then democratic ideas and values of enormous dynamic force were at work in a period of reputed complacency and conservatism.

### The Examination of American Civilization

Although by no means a new phenomenon, probing the nature of civilization in the United States formed a major part of the cultural dialogues of the 1950s. The intensity with which the subject was pursued can be understood only when the prevailing sense of prosperity of the time and the tensions of the Cold War are kept in mind. The self-consciousness of the search for so-called "national purpose" was reflected in discussions by *Life* and the *New York Times* and by the President's Commission on National Goals. The ambiguities and complexities of the inquiry were admitted, but the discussion did not come adequately to terms with the fact that Americans had never agreed on national goals and that, despite the current vogue of the consensus theory, the disagreements were not yet resolved. What the Luce publications and others liked to call the "American Century" was not, so far, a time in which assumptions were shared by the whole society.

The evaluations of American civilization ranged over a wide scale. At one extreme a small group maintained that American civilization had become soft and sick. Bernard Cannon Bell, indicting *Crowd Culture* (1954) was sure that it had. John Steinbeck was of like mind. Writing to Adlai Stevenson, Steinbeck declared that if he wanted to destroy a nation he "would give it too much and . . . would have it on its knees, miserable, greedy, and sick." One commentator felt that it was all but

<sup>12</sup> *New York Times*, June 9, 1962.

liable to become bogged down in a mess of anatomical and physiological detail."<sup>13</sup> Hollywood, formerly bound to artificial romanticism by its own censorship, ventured to make films that dealt with types of sex behavior long taboo.

Yet it is by no means certain that these developments indicated any sickness in the American mind. The much discussed report of Professor Alfred C. Kinsey of Indiana University claimed, on the basis of an investigation of 5300 white males, that male sex behavior had in fact been relatively stable for at least two generations. The report was followed by another dealing with the sex life of a sample of women which suggested an increase in premarital intercourse but concluded that in the incidence, frequency, and type of sexual outlet, biological factors, along with age, social status, and educational background, played a major role. That many prevailing legal and moral contentions were not geared to the actualities of sex behavior was apparent. The implication seemed to be that the individual's sex needs were immutable and constant, and that society had best revamp conventions to give them ample outlet. Some 250,000 copies of the first Kinsey report, and a half a dozen books about it, became best sellers. (Possibly the reports were more widely talked about than read.) They were criticized on the ground that the samples were not adequately chosen, and that the statistical treatment of the data left much to be desired.

Nor were these the only counts of the indictment that American civilization was "sick." The figures on mental illness seemed alarming. The assumptions of most psychiatrists that mental disturbances had greatly increased and that the increase was the result of dislocations and tensions in modern civilization needed to be further tested, if possible, by statistical measurements and controls; but the fact that the assumption was made and so widely and uncritically accepted was itself significant. The growing concern with mental illness was also reflected in the theater, films, radio programs, and church counseling services. Dr. William C. Menninger called on society to take greater responsibility for mental health. He pleaded not only for better-supported institutions for the mentally ill, but for the inclusion in public health programs of preventive as well as remedial psychotherapy. Recognizing that relation-

<sup>13</sup> Ben Ray Redman, "Sex and Literary Art," *American Mercury*, LIII (October, 1946), 412-447.

vidualism. The prevailing European image was of an America dominated by conformism, an America of the mass man and the mass media, of standardized and interchangeable parts in every segment of the national machine. Many American intellectuals shared this image and lamented.

The explanations offered for the putative mass conformity varied considerably. To some, the anonymity of urban life corroded true individuality. To others, the rapid development of automation not only promised to relieve human beings of routine but to depersonalize the individual worker by replacing much of his initiative and judgment with machines that operated machines. When educators hailed the invention of machines for teaching school, the principle of automation seemed to threaten the personal relations of teacher and pupil—a surviving stronghold of individuality. Still others felt that the manipulation of human behavior by public relations experts on Madison Avenue through the mass media was the root of the evil. It was also common to lament the prevalence on TV of Westerns, standardized to enable the otherwise zestless onlooker to identify himself with the hero and an America of individual initiative and strength that was now but a memory. The structured exploitation in the mass media of sex, the endless programs of horror and violence, occasioned criticism both on grounds of morality and conformity to stereotype. Science fiction paperbacks, which glorified gadgets without exemplifying a truly scientific conception of causation and of the universe, likewise seemed to some observers to conform to a pattern. So, also, did “canned music” whether on radio, TV or the jukebox, and the widely circulated so-called comic strips. Some social critics saw in all these products of mass conformity the desire of a business-dominated culture to profit from catering to the lowest common denominator of interest and taste.

On a more precise and scholarly level the widely circulated and popularized *The Lonely Crowd* of Professor David Riesman of Harvard offered another key to the alleged mass uniformity. In Riesman’s view, a profound change in American personality types had gradually taken place with corresponding changes in the culture, the net effect being that the prevailing personality type had come to be the team-man, the “other directed” fellow who took his cue from standards established by his peer groups and perceived through his social contacts, in contrast with an earlier dominant “inner-directed” American whose behavior conformed to a set of internalized standards inculcated by society through parents

playing musical instruments as well as plumbing, was, as a 6 billion dollar-a-year business, testimony to American inventiveness and self-reliance. So was the mechanical ingenuity of boys in towns and small cities who built ham radios and assembled hot-rod automobiles from indiscriminate and cast-off parts garnered often from junk yards.

Several other trends, the argument ran, proved the continuing vitality of experimentalism and variety in American life. One was the growing concern for the preservation of what was left of the American wilderness, important not only for recreation but for ecological balance. Another was the beginning of a revolt against standardized city planning of "development" and "redevelopment." Dissatisfaction with convention was also evident in the increasing tendency to retreat to country life, to fish and hunt, to camp in the national parks, to visit historical sites and monuments, and to retire "early" to enjoy these and other diversions. But the most dramatic example of protest against a patterned life was the appearance of the beatniks. In one sense these rebellious youth expressed a neoromantic, bohemian protest against middle class prosperity and the "rat race" for place and success. In another sense the beatniks professed to find in uprootedness, in the adventures of narcotics and sex (which Riesman called the last American frontier to be explored) a means to personal assertion, social irresponsibility, and "individuality."

It was seemingly impossible to evaluate in any satisfactory way either the indictment of conformity or the dissent from it. That there was some truth in both positions was obvious. And the debate underscored at least the complexity of American life.

A related colloquy asked whether mid-century America was a land of cultural mediocrity or of a new renaissance. A central question was, whether the common man was too common. The debate of course involved the familiar claim that the mass media were geared to a lower common denominator than was actually necessary even when the business-orientation of the industry was taken into account. Those who believed American civilization had lowered its cultural standards pointed, for example, to the virtual disappearance of the hero and to the cult of "the common fellow" (as exemplified in the vogue of Paddy Chayefsky in the entertainment world). Some critics noted with alarm the fascination which the highbrow found in lowbrow culture (a phenomenon by no means new, as students of France's fifteenth-century writer François

that they begin to take a more active role in explaining America to the rest of the world, rather than leaving the job to professional advertisers and routine bureaucrats. The support the federal government gave to cultural presentations abroad continued to be entirely inadequate. Yet, increasingly, American music, theater, ballet, art, and books attracted interest and admiration not only in friendly and neutral countries but in Moscow itself.

In the midst of an era generally thought to be amazingly prosperous writers, poets, musicians, and artists continued to find the economic struggle a rough one. Yet culture received greater support than in any preceding period. An increasing number of colleges and universities appointed writers-in-residence and artists-in-residence, thus offering a measure of economic security along with a chance for creative work. Few claimed that there were enough fellowships, prizes, and awards for achievements in the cultural field. But no one could question the fact their number was rapidly growing. Summer festivals all over the country gave opportunities to actors, musicians, and dancers. Both the foundations and the business community supported the performing arts and higher education with unprecedented largesse.

Nor was interest in the arts confined to a single place. Although New York, with its new Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts and its great cultural institutions, continued to dominate the scene, Washington began to give increased support to art, theater, and music. Moreover, scores of cities all over the country strengthened their art galleries and symphony orchestras. Louisville found in the presentation of new musical scores and in other cultural innovations a means of invigorating a somewhat regressive economic and cultural life, while the larger cities of Texas and southern California supported outstanding ventures in architecture, music, theater, and art.

What appeared to be, in short, a blossoming of culture was hailed when a place was found at the inauguration of Pulitzer Prize winner John F. Kennedy not only for politicians and clergymen but for Marian Anderson and Robert Frost. In an unprecedented administrative action President Kennedy gave August Heckscher of the Twentieth Century Fund the job of coordinating cultural activities among governmental and private agencies, a notable recognition of the importance of the arts and scholarship. A White House dinner for Nobel Prize winners expressed esteem for this intellectual elite and, as the *New York Times*



Evidence about the extent to which the so-called cultural boom affected the rank and file is contradictory. In 1953, for example, a Gallup poll indicated that only 17 percent of those questioned were at the time reading a book. There were, according to estimate, fewer book readers than in any major democracy. On the other hand, in 1939 only \$3,000,000 were spent on paperbacks, whereas \$63,000,000 were spent on this ever proliferating inexpensive medium, which included reprints of the world's best literature as well as much that was cheap and vulgar. Quality magazines such as *Horizon*, *American Heritage* and *Art in America* proved to have more appeal than most people in the publishing world would have guessed. Hi-fi records of classical as well as of the now respectable and "smart" jazz music became incredibly popular. President Kennedy was mistaken in saying that in the summer of 1962 as many Americans attended symphony concerts as went to baseball games; actually, it seemed that only a third as many did so. But if concerts of all kinds were included, the White House announced that the figure originally given was correct. The other side of the coin, the prevailing jukebox, TV, and radio programs of "country music" (hackneyed jingles, rock and roll, and hill-billy songs), was something else again. But it seems fair to say that, except during the lyceum era of the mid-nineteenth century and, briefly, during the best days of Chautauqua, the popularization of culture had never met with as much success in terms of standards as was true in the 1950s.

If true, this suggested avenues of hope. If an American was able to keep even somewhat abreast of his cataclysmic times, he was likely to recognize the unlimited possibilities for the expansion of knowledge of the universe and of man's creative efforts within it. If men could meet contingencies at home and in the larger world, with resourcefulness and common sense, if men could check their proneness toward destruction and keep their marvelous capacities for creativity to the fore, they might, despite predictions of doom, realize in increasing part an American faith in human ability to overcome even the most threatening obstacles and realize potentialities long cherished.

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# *Bibliography*

### General Works

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A number of studies, most of them completed in recent years, suggest interpretations of the general course of intellectual history in America by examining the role of a particular idea or cluster of ideas. A pioneer effort was Albert K. Weinberg's *Manifest Destiny* (Johns Hopkins, 1935); and a later work, Frederick Merk's *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (Knopf, 1963). World War II helped stimulate attempts to discover the essence of American faith and belief. A notable product of this effort was Ralph Barton Perry's *Puritanism and Democracy* (Vanguard, 1944), which traces the career of these ideas in the American past. In *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Harvard, 1950), a work that has stimulated many scholars in the past decade, Henry Nash Smith discussed the profound influence that concepts of the West have exerted over Americans. In a brief essay which shares some of the characteristics of Smith's *Virgin Land*, Reinhold Niebuhr has stressed the extent to which "innocence," derived from Puritanism and the Enlightenment, has con-

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### 1. The Christian Heritage

Most of the studies of the colonial religious heritage have concentrated on particular religious groups or on geographical areas. William Warren Sweet, however, has provided an extended general treatment in his *Religion in Colonial America* (Scribner, 1942). Of all the various religious groups, the New England Puritans have received the most exhaustive attention. Perry Miller's volumes constitute the most nearly complete account of Puritan theology: *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts* (2nd ed., Beacon Press, 1959), *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Harvard, 1954), *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Harvard, 1953), and *Errand into the Wilderness* (Harvard, 1956). Somewhat less technical is Herbert W. Schneider, *The Puritan Mind* (Holt, 1930). Alan Simpson, in *Puritanism in Old and*

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translated by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Dobcstein: William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation* (Knopf, 1952), edited by Samuel Eliot Morison; and, for a somewhat later period, Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts, and Jacob S. Payton (eds.), *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury* (3 vols., Abingdon, 1958).

Sister Mary Augustina Ray has amassed much evidence on the prejudice of colonial American Protestants against Catholicism in her *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (Columbia, 1936). Valuable on the subject of toleration is Abram V. Goodman's *American Overture: Jewish Rights in Colonial Times* (Jewish Publication Society of America, 1947). The relationship of Catholic thought to the development of toleration in seventeenth-century Maryland is discussed in Thomas O'Brien Hanley, *Their Rights and Liberties: The Beginnings of Religious and Political Freedom in Maryland* (Newman, 1959).

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In addition to such contemporary accounts of the Great Revival as Jonathan Edwards *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton* (Boston, 1737); Charles Chauncy *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* (Boston, 1743); and Devereaux Jarratt, *A Brief Narrative of the Revival of Religion in Virginia* (London, 1779), several sound monographs are available: Charles M. Maxson, *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (University of Chicago Press, 1920); Wesley M. Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790* (Duke, 1930); and Edwin Scott Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England* (Harper & Row, 1957). An interesting attempt to trace out some of the social and political consequences of

ton, 1942), is an excellent collection of essays on various aspects of German life. An interesting contemporary glimpse of German life in Pennsylvania in the 1750s is contained in Gottlieb Mittelberger's *Journey to Pennsylvania* (Harvard, 1960), translated and edited by Oscar Handlin and John Clive. Henry Kauffman, *Pennsylvania Dutch American Folk Art* (American Studio Books, 1946), is an informative study. Monographs on Germans in colonial America may be supplemented by the abundant materials in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* and the publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, the *German-American Annals* and *Americana-Germanica*. A brief account of Swedish contributions may be found in Adolph B. Benson's "Cultural Relations Between Sweden and America to 1830," *Germanic Review* XII (April, 1938).

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documented studies. Carter Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (Putnam, 1915) and Marcus W. Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783* (University of Chicago Press, 1931) contain much valuable material.

### 3. *The Old World Heritage Modified*

Judicious general treatments of the modification of the Old World heritage by American conditions are contained in several distinguished monographs. Curtis P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), though it is not primarily concerned with intellectual history, has a judicious discussion of the influence of the American environment on cultural life. Thomas J. Wertenbaker sums up a great deal of research into this field in his brief *The Golden Age of Colonial Culture* (New York University Press, 1942). Louis B. Wright's *The Atlantic Frontier: Colonial American Civilization* (Knopf, 1947) is also an excellent study. On the subject of the influence of the purely physical environment of colonial America, Archer Butler Hulbert has some suggestive ideas in *Soil, Its Influence on the History of the United States* (Yale, 1930). Although neither study is focused primarily on the colonial period or on intellectual life, J. Russell Smith's *North America and Its Geographic Conditions* (Houghton Mifflin, 1933) and Howard W. Odum and Henry E. Moore's *American Regionalism* (Holt, 1938) present useful material.

Louis B. Wright's *The First Gentlemen of Virginia* (The Huntington Library, 1940) sets a high standard for research and interpretation in the field of the adaptation of English ideas and values to colonial conditions. A contrasting view is available in Carl Bridenbaugh's lectures on the colonial South: *Myths and Realities* (Louisiana State University Press, 1952). The experiences of tutors in plantation Virginia are described with lively detail in John Harrower's diary, *American Historical Review*, VI (October, 1900), and in the *Journals and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian* (Princeton, 1900). Edmund S. Morgan in *Virginians at Home: Family Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Colonial Williamsburg, 1952) discusses planter life with wit and charm. Thomas T. Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia, 1706-1776* (University of North Carolina Press, 1946) is interesting and informative. Charles S. Sydnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia* (University of North Carolina Press, 1952), is a brief, sympathetic discussion of the social life of the gentry as it affected politics. For the intellectual interests of the planters see, in addition to Wright's *First Gentlemen of Virginia*, George K. Smart, "Private Libraries in Colonial

*Urban Life in America, 1625-1742* (Ronald, 1938), and *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776* (Knopf, 1955). Wertenbaker, in *The Golden Age of Colonial Culture*, has delightful essays on Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charlestown. Michael Kraus's *Intercolonial Aspects of American Culture on the Eve of the Revolution* (Columbia, 1928) is a very informative study. On particular cities, see Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1942), and Frederick P. Bowes, *The Culture of Early Charleston* (University of North Carolina Press, 1942). The lives of colonial craftsmen and "mechanicks" are discussed in Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman* (New York University Press, 1950). Though they are not focused on intellectual history, several scholarly studies offer useful material on the lives of colonial merchants: Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Harvard, 1955); James B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations: Colonial Years* (Harvard, 1952); and Byron Fairchild, *Messrs. William Pepperrell: Merchants at Piscataqua* (Cornell, 1954).

On books and libraries there is a useful summary in chapter 7 of Louis B. Wright's *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763*. On printing and books in particular, see John T. Winterich, *Early American Books and Printing* (Houghton, Mifflin, 1935); Lawrence C. Worth, *The Colonial Printer* (Southworth-Anthoesen Press, 1928); Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *The Book in America* (Bowker, 1938); P. L. Ford (ed.), *The Journals of Hugh Gaine, Printer* (2 vols., Dodd, Mead, 1902); and Henry W. Boynton, *Annals of American Bookselling, 1638-1850* (Wiley, 1932). Library facilities in towns are discussed in Austin B. Keep, *History of the New York Library Society* (Library de Vinne Press, 1908); George W. Cole, *Early Library Development in New York State* (New York Public Library Publications, 1927); Stephen B. Weeks, "Libraries and Literature in North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century," *Annual Report of American Historical Association for 1895*; Charles K. Bolton, "Proprietary and Subscription Libraries," *Manual of Library Economy* (Chicago, 1912); Chester T. Hallenbeck (ed.), "A Colonial Reading List from the Union Library of Hatboro, Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LVI (1932); and Austin K. Gray, *Benjamin Franklin's Library: A Short Account of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Macmillan, 1937).

The several histories of American journalism contains sections on the colonial newspaper. For a sociological approach see Sidney Kobre, *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper* (Colonial Press, 1944). Livingston Rutherford has an old but still useful life of *John Peter Zenger* (Dodd, Mead, 1904), and Clyde M. Duniway's *The Development of Freedom of the Press*

ginia; and Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen*, may be profitably consulted.

Of special value for the history of science during the colonial period are Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735-1789* (University of North Carolina Press, 1956), and Theodore Hornberger, *Scientific Thought in the American Colleges, 1638-1800* (University of Texas Press, 1945). A valuable series of papers on early American science is contained in "The Early History of Science and Learning in America," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXXXVI (September, 1942). For a convenient summary, see chapter 1 of Dirk J. Struik, *Yankee Science in the Making* (Little, Brown, 1948). The achievements of a large number of colonial scientists are usefully summarized in Whitfield J. Bell, *Early American Science: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1955). Michael Kraus's paper, "Scientific Relations Between Europe and America in the Eighteenth Century," *Scientific Monthly*, LV (September, 1942), is illuminating. Valuable information on the influence of British science in America is available in Frederick Brasch, "The Royal Society of London and Its Influence upon Scientific Thought in the American Colonies," *Scientific Monthly*, XXXIII (October and November, 1931). Harry Woolf, *The Transits of Venus: A Study of Eighteenth Century Science* (Princeton, 1959) is an excellent study of both scientific ideas and international cooperation. Treatments of colonial mathematics are available in the several histories of mathematics in America. On the colonial period in particular, see Leo G. Simons, *Introduction of Algebra into American Schools in the Eighteenth Century* (Government Printing Office, 1924), and Frederick B. Tolles, *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (Little, Brown, 1957). William Martin Smallwood, *Natural History and the American Mind* (Columbia, 1941), is based on extensive research.

There is no adequate life of David Rittenhouse, though William Barton's *Memoirs of David Rittenhouse* (Philadelphia, 1813) still has some value. Maurice J. Babb's essay on Rittenhouse in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XVI (1932) is useful. G. Brown Goode, *The Beginnings of Natural History in America* (Biological Society of America, Washington, D.C., 1886), is a pioneer study. For a more modern treatment consult appropriate chapters of Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America*. William Darlington's *Memorials of John and William Bartram and Humphrey Marshall* (Philadelphia, 1849) is valuable chiefly for the charming letters by its subjects. Ernest Earnest's *John and William Bartram* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941) is a popular study. Francis Harper has produced a superb edition of the *Travels of Will-*

*The Cosmogonies of Our Fathers* (Columbia, 1934); Harold J. Laski, *The Rise of European Liberalism* (G. Allen, 1936); John H. Randall, Jr., *The Making of the Modern Mind* (rev. ed., Houghton Mifflin, 1941); Philip Shorr, *Science and Superstition in the Eighteenth Century* (Columbia, 1940); and Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture* (Holt, 1934).

*The Works of Roger Williams*, edited by members of the Narragansett Club (6 vols., Providence, 1866-1874), contain the chief writings of this champion of freedom of religious thought. In addition to the studies by Perry Miller and Ola Elizabeth Winslow, Samuel H. Brockunier's *Irrepressible Democrat, Roger Williams* (Ronald, 1940) stresses the democratic aspects of Williams' thought. Herbert W. Schneider has an incisive and stimulating essay on Samuel Johnson in his collected works: *Samuel Johnson, President of King's College: His Career and Writings* (4 vols., Columbia, 1929), II. A more recent discussion of Johnson is chapter 4 of Claude M. Newlin, *Philosophy and Religion in Colonial America* (Philosophical Library, 1962). Max Savelle, in his *Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind* (Knopf, 1948) has a readable discussion of Enlightenment science and philosophy. Frederick E. Brasch has an informative article on Newtonianism, "The Newtonian Epoch in the American Colonies," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, n.s. XLIX (October, 1939). The spread of Newtonianism is traced in Chester E. Jorgenson's "The New Science in the Almanacs of Ames and Franklin," *New England Quarterly*, VIII (December, 1935). Benjamin Colman's sermon, *God Deals With Us as Rational Creatures* (Boston, 1723) is very readable. Serious students cannot neglect John Wise's *The Churches Quarrel Espoused* (Boston, 1710). For a general treatment of religious liberalism in New England, see Conrad Wright's excellent *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America* (Starr King Press, 1955). George Allen Cook, *John Wise, Early American Democrat* (King's Crown, 1952) is an adequate biography. On Wise, Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province*, is interesting and informative. Clinton Rossiter includes essays on Wise, Jonathan Mayhew, and Roger Williams in his *Seedtime of the Republic: the Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1953). There is no life of Charles Chauncy, or an edition of his writings, but Conrad Wright, *The Beginnings of Unitarianism*, offers valuable information. On other aspects of religious liberalism, Claude Newlin's *Philosophy and Religion in Colonial America* is valuable. Howard Mumford Jones has a brilliant essay, "The Drift to Liberalism in the American Eighteenth Century," in *Authority and the Individual* (Harvard, 1937). Herbert M. Morais has given the main outlines of the development of deism in *Deism in Eighteenth Century America* (Columbia, 1934). I. Woodbridge Riley's exhaus-

revolution is vast, and almost all of it contains at least some passing notice of intellectual history.

For illuminating observations on the American colleges at the end of the Revolution, see Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America* (Dublin, 1787), II, 209-279; Henry Wansey, *An Excursion to the United States in the Summer of 1794* (2nd ed., Salisbury, 1798); 50; LaRocheffoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels Through the United States of North America* (London, 1799), II, 660-663; Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America* (London, 1792), 107; Isaac Weld, *Travels Through the United States of North America in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London, 1799), I, 167-168; Johann Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation* (W. J. Campbell, 1911), I, 86-87; and Ezra Stiles, *Literary Diary*, edited by F. B. Dexter (Scribner, 1901), III, 366. The impact of the Revolution on scholarship is treated in Merle Curti, "The American Scholar in Three Wars," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, III (June, 1942).

Observations and reflections on the influence of the Revolution on agencies of intellectual life are contained in John Drayton, *Letters Written During a Tour Through the Northern and Eastern States* (Charleston, 1794); Edgar W. Knight (ed.), *A Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860* (5 vols., University of North Carolina Press, 1949-1953); and De Witt Clinton, *An Introductory Discourse Delivered before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York* (New York, 1815). For further illustrations, see the rich storehouse, *The Diary of William Bentley* (Essex Institute, 1905-1907). Other primary materials of special significance are David Ramsay, *The History of the American Revolution* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1789); *The Miscellaneous Works of Colonel Humphreys* (New York, 1790); William Manning, *The Key of Liberty*, edited by Samuel Eliot Morison (The Manning Association, 1922); William Dunlap, *History of the American Theater* (New York, 1832); and Frank Moore, *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution* (New York, 1856).

Material for the study of some of the intellectual leaders of the revolutionary generation is voluminous. Jefferson has received most attention. A definitive edition of the Jefferson papers is being prepared under the general editorship of Julian P. Boyd (Princeton University Press, 1950- ). Dumas Malone, meantime, has provided a good edition of the *Autobiography of Thomas Jefferson* (Putnam, 1959). Malone has also completed three volumes of a biography, *Jefferson and His Time* (Little, Brown, 1948-1962), and Marie Kimball three volumes of her *Jefferson* (Coward-McCann, 1943-1950). Nathan Schachner's *Thomas Jefferson: A Biography* (2 vols., Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), is more suitable for the general reader because of its factual emphasis on Jefferson as a human being. There are a very

increased attention as an intellectual in politics. Lyman H. Butterfield is general editor of a project to publish the papers of the Adams family (Harvard University Press, 1961-). In the meantime, see Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *The Works of John Adams* (10 vols., Boston, 1851). Although most of the letters were written after the Revolutionary period, Lester J. Cappon (ed.), *The Adams-Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams* (2 vols., University of North Carolina Press, 1959), is useful. Catherine Drinker Bowen, *John Adams and the American Revolution* (Little, Brown, 1950), is readable and vivid but nonetheless scholarly. Concentrating more on intellectual history are two interesting and informative monographs: Zoltan Haraszti, *John Adams and the Prophets of Progress* (Harvard, 1952), and Alfred Iacuzzi, *John Adams, Scholar* (S. F. Vanni, 1952). George A. Lipsky, *John Quincy Adams: His Theory and Ideas* (Crowell, 1950), is a systematic presentation. The major writings of Thomas Paine are available in a number of modern editions, and Harry Hayden Clark has given a brilliant interpretation of the thought of Paine in the introductory essay of *Thomas Paine: Representative Selections* (American Book, 1944). There has been a recent revival of interest in Alexander Hamilton. The Hamilton papers, under the direction of Harold Syrett, are being published by Columbia University Press (1961-). Broadus Mitchell has written the most thorough biography, *Alexander Hamilton* (2 vols., Macmillan, 1957-1962). The brief essays in Broadus Mitchell, *Heritage from Hamilton* (Columbia, 1957) stress Hamilton's positive contribution; John C. Miller, *Alexander Hamilton: Portrait in Paradox* (Harper & Row, 1959), and Louis M. Hacker, *Alexander Hamilton in the American Tradition* (McGraw-Hill, 1957), are also sympathetic treatments.

J. Franklin Jameson's seminal essay, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Princeton, 1940), is still valuable and stimulating, though it should be supplemented with Frederick B. Tolles, "The American Revolution, Considered as a Social Movement: A Re-Evaluation," *American Historical Review*, LX (October, 1954). Discussions of the social ramifications of the Revolution are available in Allan Nevins, *The American States During and After the Revolution, 1775-1789* (Macmillan, 1924); Evarts B. Greene, *The Revolutionary Generation* (Macmillan, 1943); and Elisha P. Douglass, *Rebels and Democrats: The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule during the American Revolution* (University of North Carolina Press, 1955). Moses Coit Tyler's *Literary History of the American Revolution* (2 vols., Putnam, 1879), is justly renowned. The development of political thought is discussed in Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence*; Randolph G. Adams, *Political Ideas of the American*



apply the methods of intellectual history to foreign policy is Felix Gilbert's *To the Farewell Address: Ideas of Early American Foreign Policy* (Princeton, 1961).

### 7. The Expanding Enlightenment

In a provocative essay, "The Myth of an American Enlightenment," *America and the Image of Europe* (Meridian Books, 1960), Daniel Boorstin has questioned the historical accuracy of the idea that the United States participated significantly in the Enlightenment. For a brief introduction to the subject, see the early chapters of Russel B. Nye, *The Cultural Life of the New Nation 1776-1830* (Harper & Row, 1960).

On the relation of American thought to the French Revolution, several works are of value: Charles D. Hazen, *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution* (Johns Hopkins, 1897); Bernard Faÿ, *The Revolutionary Spirit in America and France at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1927); Howard Mumford Jones, *America and French Culture, 1750-1848* (University of North Carolina Press, 1927); and Eugene P. Link, *The Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800* (Columbia, 1941). From the opposite point of view, Durand Echeverria has provided an excellent study of French opinion of American society in his *Mirage in the West: A History of the French Image of American Society to 1815* (Princeton, 1957).

General treatments of deism are available in Herbert Morais, *Deism in Eighteenth Century America* (Columbia, 1934) and G. Adolf Koch, *Republican Religion* (Holt, 1933). Other manifestations of religious unorthodoxy are treated in Albert Post, *Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1840* (Columbia, 1943). The discussion of Ethan Allen's *Oracle of Reason* in John Pell, *Ethan Allen* (Houghton Mifflin, 1929), may be supplemented by George P. Anderson, "Who Wrote 'Ethan Allen's Bible'?" *New England Quarterly*, X (December, 1937). The unsympathetic view of Paine's *Age of Reason* in I. Woodbridge Riley's *American Philosophy, the Early Schools*, ch. 7, should be checked against Harry Hayden Clark's introduction to *Thomas Paine: Representative Selections*. Also useful for study is Moncure D. Conway (ed.), *The Writings of Thomas Paine* (4 vols., Putnam, 1894-1896). Nathan Goodman, *Benjamin Rush, Physician and Citizen* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934), is only adequate and should be used in connection with material cited in the previous chapter. David Lee Clark, *Charles Brockden Brown, Pioneer Voice of America* (University of North Carolina Press, 1952), is informative. The first-rate study by Dumas Malone, *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper* (Yale, 1926), should be supplemented

The growing interest in modern languages can be traced in Charles H. Handschin, *The Teaching of Modern Languages in the United States* (United States Bureau of Education, 1913); Howard Mumford Jones, *America and French Culture*, ch. 6; Henry W. Simon, *The Reading of Shakespeare in American Schools and Colleges, an Historical Study* (Simon and Schuster, 1932); and Jane Sherzer, *American Editions of Shakespeare, 1753-1866, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (22, n.s. 15, 1907).

Science during the Revolutionary period is discussed at some length in Brooke Hindle's *Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America*. Useful chapters on the subject are also available in Russel B. Nye's *The Cultural Life of the New Nation* and Dirk Struik's *Yankee Science in the Making*. Harry Hayden Clark's "The Influence of Science on American Ideas," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy*, XXXV (1944), is useful. The scientific aspects of Jefferson's career are treated in Edwin T. Martin, *Thomas Jefferson, Scientist* (Abelard-Schuman, 1952). The standard history of early geology is George P. Merrill, *The First Hundred Years of American Geology* (Yale, 1924). Courtney R. Hall, *A Scientist in the Early Republic, Samuel Latham Mitchill, 1783-1850* (Columbia, 1937), is a good biography of a versatile scientist. For a sympathetic treatment of Bartram, see N. Bryllion Fagin, *William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape* (Johns Hopkins, 1933). Philip M. Hicks, in *The Development of the Natural History Essay in American Literature* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1924), also makes illuminating comments on Bartram. Edgar F. Smith has evaluated Priestley's influence in *Priestley in America, 1794-1804* (McGraw-Hill-Blakiston, 1920). The same author's study of *James Woodhouse, a Pioneer in American Chemistry* (Holt, 1918) is readable and appreciative. No student of the intellectual history of the eighteenth century should overlook Samuel Miller, *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (2 vols., New York, 1803). Another informative primary source is Benjamin Waterhouse, *The Rise, Progress, and Present State of Medicine* (Boston, 1792). Roger Burlingame, *March of the Iron Men* (Scribner, 1938), gives a popular treatment of the development of the principle of interchangeable parts.

### 8. The Conservative Reaction

Alfred Cobban, *Edmund Burke and the Revolt Against the Eighteenth Century* (G. Allen, 1929), provides useful background information on European conservative thinkers like Burke, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and others. Arthur O. Lovejoy, in his *Reflections on Human Nature* (Johns

Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1933); *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest, 1778-1838* (John Knox Press, 1952); and *The Baptist Church in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 1776-1845* (University of Kentucky Press, 1957). Two other useful monographs are Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837* (University of North Carolina Press, 1960), and Dwight Raymond Guthrie, *John McMillan, The Apostle of Presbyterianism in the West, 1752-1833* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1952).

For an account of attitudes toward sports in the period, see Jennie Holliman, *American Sports, 1785-1835* (Duke, 1931). Treatments of the origins of the temperance and peace crusades are available in John A. Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition* (Knopf, 1925), and Merle Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1861* (Duke, 1929). The reaction against deism is traced in G. Adolf Koch, *Republican Religion*. Niels H. Sonne, *Liberal Kentucky, 1780-1823* (Columbia, 1938), and Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Duke, 1940), show the reactions against liberalism in the South. Hugh Henry Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* is available in a modern edition (American Books, 1937). *The Life and Writings of Hugh Henry Brackenridge* (Princeton, 1932) by Claude M. Newlin is a comprehensive and critical study.

### 9. Patrician Direction of Thought

Two general discussions of the intellectual, social, and cultural life of the first decades of the nineteenth century are Russel B. Nye's *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776-1830*, and Dixon Ryan Fox and John A. Krout's volume in the *History of American Life* series, *The Completion of Independence, 1790-1830* (Macmillan, 1944).

Valuable information on patrician literary and critical circles and conventions is available in several monographs. William Charvat, *American Critical Thought, 1810-1835* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), is quite informative. *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, edited by William P. Trent, et al. (4 vols., Putnam, 1917-1921), has indispensable bibliographies and essays.

Leon Howard's *The Connecticut Wits* and Harold M. Ellis', *Joseph Denie and His Circle, 1792-1812* (University of Texas Bulletin, no. 40, 1915) continue to be useful for this period in American letters. The first chapter of Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England, 1815-1865* (Dutton, 1938), is a charmingly impressionistic introduction. Herbert R. Brown, *The Sentimental Novel in America, 1789-1860* (Duke, 1940), is useful.

bia University, 1911); Joseph J. McCadden, *Education in Pennsylvania, 1801-1835 and Its Debt to Roberts Vaux* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937); John F. Reigart, *The Lancasterian System of Instruction in the Schools of New York City* (Teachers College, Columbia University, 1916); Charles C. Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale* (2 vols., American Philosophical Society, 1947); Harold S. Colton, "Peale's Museum," *Popular Science Monthly*, LXXV (September, 1909); Emily E. Skeel (ed.), *Mason Locke Weems, His Works and Ways* (New York, 1929); Earl Bradsher, *Mathew Carey, Editor, Author, and Publisher* (Columbia, 1912); Dr. Jesse Torrey, Jr., *The Intellectual Torch* (Ballston Spa, 1817); and James Marsh, *An Address delivered in Burlington* (Burlington, Vermont, 1826). Monica Kiefer's *American Children Through Their Books, 1700-1835* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948) is richly anecdotal and illuminating. The popularization of agricultural reform may be studied with profit in Harry J. Carman (ed.), *Jesse Buel, Agricultural Reformer: Selections from His Writings* (Columbia, 1947).

R. Freeman Butts has discussed the classical curriculum of this period in *The College Charts Its Course* (McGraw-Hill, 1939), and Donald G. Tewksbury has traced the extension of college opportunities in *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War* (Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932). L. H. Butterfield, *John Witherspoon Comes to America: A Documentary Account Based Largely on New Materials* (Princeton, 1953), illuminates the early beginnings of the vogue of the Scottish philosophy in America. John M. Daley's *Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years* (Georgetown University Press, 1957) is based on exhaustive research. The revolt of Samuel F. B. Morse against aristocratic patronage in the arts is well handled in F. Carlton Mabree, Jr., *American Leonardo: A Life of Samuel F. B. Morse* (Knopf, 1943). Milton W. Hamilton, *The Country Printer, New York State, 1785-1830* (Columbia, 1936), is a work of careful scholarship.

### 10. Nationalism Challenges Cosmopolitanism

The materials illustrating the continuing influence of European currents of thought are almost innumerable. Howard Mumford Jones, "The Influence of European Ideas in Nineteenth Century America," *American Literature*, VII (November, 1935), is a brilliant and original essay of special significance. For persistent influences of British thinkers, see William Charvat, *American Critical Thought*; Merle Curti, "The Great Mr. Locke, America's Philosopher, 1783-1861," in *Probing Our Past* (Harper & Row,

1935); *The Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor* (2 vols., Boston, 1876); Richmond L. Hawkins, *Madame de Staël and the United States* (Harvard, 1930); Emma K. Armstrong, "Chateaubriand's America," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXII (1907); Walter Wadepuhl, *Goethe's Interest in the New World* (Jena, 1934); James T. Hatfield, *New Light on Longfellow, with Special Reference to Germany* (Houghton Mifflin, 1933); Sister Mary Mauritia Redden, *The Gothic Tradition in the American Magazine, 1765-1801* (Catholic University of America Press, 1939); John Dewey, "James Marsh and American Philosophy," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, II (April, 1931); and the introductory essay in *Edgar Allen Poe, Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography and Notes*, by Margaret Alterton and Hardin Craig (American Book, 1935).

No more spirited account of the "paper war" between British and American writers has been written than that by John Bach McMaster in *History of the People of the United States* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1904), V, ch. 48. Edward Tatum's *The United States and Europe, 1815-1823* (University of California Press, 1936) presents much evidence regarding the role of anti-British sentiments in the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine.

In addition to the writings mentioned in the text, the call for cultural nationalism and American achievements in the realm of the mind may be followed in John C. McCloskey, "Campaign of the Periodicals after the War of 1812 for National American Literature," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* (March, 1935); Robert W. Bolwell, "Concerning the Study of Nationalism in American Literature," *American Literature*, X (January, 1939); William Ellery Sedgwick, "The Materials for an American Literature: A Critical Problem of the Early Nineteenth Century," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XVII (1935); Robert E. Spiller, *Fenimore Cooper: Critic of His Times* (Minton, 1931); James Franklin Beard (ed.), *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper* (Harvard, 1960- ); and Benjamin T. Spencer, *The Quest for Nationality: An American Literary Campaign* (Syracuse University Press, 1957). Gustavus Meyers has quoted liberally from contemporary documents in the struggle for a characteristically American support of the arts in his *The History of American Idealism* (Liveright, 1925). The American spirit in the missionary movement is reflected in Oliver W. Elsbee, *Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790-1815* (Lewisburg, Pa., 1928). William Alfred Bryan, *George Washington in American Literature, 1775-1865*, details the development of Washington as a symbol of national pride.

Contemporary expressions of cultural nationalism include, among many others, Thomas C. Upham, *American Sketches* (New York, 1815); William Ellery Channing, *Remarks on American Literature* (Boston, 1829); John

The development of agencies for the support of cultural life in the West is the subject of several scholarly studies. Robert S. Fletcher set a high standard in his *History of Oberlin College from Its Foundation Through the Civil War* (Oberlin College, 1943). James J. Hopkins, *The University of Kentucky: Origins and Early Years* (University of Kentucky Press, 1951), is a well-told story of the disputes that surrounded the early years of that institution. Richard C. Wade discusses the development of agencies of cultural life in the western towns in *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830* (Harvard, 1959).

The contributions of the West to the cultural life of the nation have been treated in a number of specialized monographs. Arthur Deen, "Early Science in the Ohio Valley," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIII (March, 1937) is informative, as is Otto Juettner, "Rise of Medical Colleges in the Ohio Valley," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXII (October, 1913). William T. Lipton, *Anthony Philip Heinrich, a Nineteenth Century Composer of Music* (Columbia, 1939), is a useful biography. H. B. Weiss and C. M. Ziegler, *Thomas Say, Early American Naturalist* (Charles C. Thomas, 1931), is a sympathetic treatment. Loyd Haberer's *Pursuit of the Horizon: A Life of George Catlin, Painter and Recorder of the American Indian* (Macmillan, 1948) is based on patient and enthusiastic research. John T. Flanagan, *James Hall, Literary Pioneer of the Valley* (University of Minnesota Press, 1941), is a good study, and may be supplemented by Logan Esarey, "The Literary Spirit Among the Early Ohio Settlers," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, V (September, 1918), and R. Carlyle Buley, "Glimpses of Pioneer Mid-West Social and Cultural History," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXIII (March, 1937).

Many of the social histories of the West suggest valuable insights into intellectual life. Ray Allen Billington, *The American Frontiersman* (Clarendon Press, 1954), is a brief and provocative lecture on "reversion to the primitive" on the frontier. This theme is worked out in greater detail in Arthur K. Moore, *The Frontier Mind: A Cultural Analysis of the Kentucky Frontiersman* (University of Kentucky Press, 1957). Harriette Simpson Arnow, in *Seedtime on the Cumberland* (Macmillan, 1960), writes sympathetically of the social life of the settlers of that area. Richard Lyle Power emphasizes the blending of northern and southern culture patterns in *Planting Corn Belt Culture: The Impress of the Upland Southerner and Yankee in the Old Northwest* (Indiana Historical Society, 1953). Logan Esarey's *The Indiana Home* (R. E. Banta, 1943), should not be ignored by serious students of frontier values and mores. William Francis English, *The Pioneer Lawyer and Jurist in Missouri* (University of Missouri, 1947), casts some light on the law as a social and intellectual institution. Mody C. Boatright, *Folk Laughter on*

phia, 1826); Zerah Hawley, *A Journal of a Tour Through Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York and Ohio* (New Haven, 1822); and Adam Hodgson, *Letters from North America* (London, 1824). Reminiscences include William H. Milburn, *The Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1860); James Freeman Clarke, *Autobiography, Diary and Correspondence* (Houghton Mifflin, 1891); *Life of Black Hawk, Ma-ka Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak* (Boston, 1834); *Memoirs of Gustav Philipp Koerner, 1809-1896* (Torch Press, 1909); J. C. Smith, *Reminiscences of Early Methodism in Indiana*; Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (Boston, 1826); Bayard R. Hall, *The New Purchase or Early Years in the West* (New Albany, Indiana, 1855); John Reynolds, *My Own Times* (Belleville, Illinois, 1855); Charles Hoffman, *Winter in the West* (New York, 1835); Wilmathan Gavitt, *Crumbs from My Saddle-Bag* (Toledo, 1884); Julian Sturtevant, *Autobiography* (New York, 1896); T. A. Goodwin (ed.), *Autobiography of Joseph Tarkington* (Cincinnati, 1899); Rufus Babcock (ed.), *Forty Years of Pioneer Life. Memoir of John Mason Peck* (Philadelphia, 1899); Charles Caldwell, *Autobiography* (Philadelphia, 1855); *The Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* (New York, 1857); and *Autobiography of Rev. James B. Finley, Pioneer in the West* (Cincinnati, 1854). Other categories are represented by James Hall, *Sketches, History, Life and Manners in the West* (Philadelphia, 1835); J. L. McConnell, *Western Characters* (Redfield, New York, 1853); J. M. Peck, *A Guide for Emigrants* (Boston, 1831); Isaac Reed, *The Christian Traveler* (New York, 1828); Washington Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies*, in a modern edition by John Francis McDermott (University of Oklahoma Press, 1956); *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*, edited by Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts, and Jacob S. Payton (Abingdon, 1958); and the indispensable documents on frontier religious history edited by W. W. Sweet under the general title of *Religion on the American Frontier: The Baptists, 1783-1830* (Holt, 1931), *The Presbyterians, 1783-1840* (Harper & Row, 1936), *The Congregationalists* (University of Chicago Press, 1939), and *The Methodists* (University of Chicago Press, 1946).

Miscellaneous materials often have great value, as for example *The Writings of Caleb Atwater* (Columbus, 1833); John James Audubon's *Ornithological Biography* (Philadelphia, 1832-1839); C. S. Rafinesque, *A Life of Travels and Researches in North America and South Europe* (Philadelphia, 1836); William Maclure, *Opinions on Various Subjects* (New Harmony, 1831); Daniel Drake, *An Inaugural Address on Medical Education* (Cincinnati, 1820); Lyman Beecher, *A Plea for the West* (Cincinnati, 1834); Edward Everett, "Education in the West," in *Importance of Practical Education and Useful Knowledge* (Boston, 1840); and Bishop Philander Chase, *A Plea for the West* (Philadelphia, 1826). Samuel J. Mills and Daniel Smith, *Report of*

*Emerson and Whitman* (Oxford, 1941), broke new ground and continues to inspire scholars. Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England, 1815-1865*, is impressionistic but very suggestive. Herbert R. Brown, *The Sentimental Novel in America, 1789-1860*, is useful. The studies of literature and literary figures during this period are very numerous, though many are of less use to the historian than to the literary critic. One of the more interesting attempts to locate a central theme for the developing American literature is R. W. B. Lewis, *American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (University of Chicago Press, 1955). David B. Davis, *Homicide in American Fiction, 1798-1860: A Study in Social Values* (Cornell, 1957), attempts to discover social attitudes behind the fictional treatment of murder in American works. In recent years there has been a renewal of interest in the historians of the Romantic period in American letters. David Levin, *History as Romantic Art: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman* (Stanford, 1959), is the most general treatment. There are two studies of Parkman as a literary figure: Howard Doughty, *Francis Parkman* (Macmillan, 1962), and Otis A. Pease, *Parkman's History: The Historian as Literary Artist* (Yale, 1953). Parkman's works are long out of print, but Samuel Eliot Morison has provided a judicious selection, accompanied by a balanced introduction, in *The Parkman Reader: From the Works of Francis Parkman* (Little, Brown, 1955). Mason Wade has discovered and edited *The Journals of Francis Parkman* (Harper & Row, 1947). Also quite valuable is Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Letters of Francis Parkman* (2 vols., University of Oklahoma Press, 1960). Howard F. Cline, C. Harvey Gardiner, Charles Gibson (eds.), *William Hickling Prescott: A Memorial* (Duke, 1959), places Prescott in historiographical context. C. Harvey Gardiner, *The Literary Memoirs of William Hickling Prescott* (2 vols., University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), is a rich source. Russel Nye, *George Bancroft, Brahmin Rebel* (Knopf, 1944), is a scholarly study. Among the many useful sources of information on other figures and movements of the period are: James Franklin Beard (ed.), *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper*; James Grossman, *James Fenimore Cooper* (William Sloane Associates, 1949); Randall Stewart, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Yale University Press, 1948); Mark Van Doren, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Sloane, 1949); Vernon Loggins, *The Hawthornes: The Story of Seven Generations of an American Family* (Columbia, 1951); Gay W. Allen, *The Solitary Singer: A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman* (Macmillan, 1955); William Ellery Sedgwick, *Herman Melville: The Tragedy of Mind* (Harvard, 1944); Eleanor Melville Metcalf, *Herman Melville: Cycle and Epicycle* (Harvard, 1953), a collection of letters; Newton Arvin's *Longfellow* (Little, Brown, 1963); Edgar P. Richardson, *Washington Allston: A Study of the Romantic Artist in America* (University of Chicago Press, 1948); John Francis McDermott,



Loughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (Ronald, 1959). Henry Steele Commager, *Theodore Parker* (Little, Brown, 1936), is an excellent biography, and should be read in conjunction with John E. Dirks's *The Critical Theology of Theodore Parker* (Columbia, 1948). Barbara M. Cross's *Horace Bushnell: Minister to a Changing America* (University of Chicago Press, 1958) emphasises the extent of Bushnell's orthodoxy, and may be supplemented by two older biographies by Mary A. Cheyney (Harper & Rowe, 1880), and Theodore Munger (Houghton Mifflin, 1899). Robert D. Clark, in *The Life of Matthew Simpson* (Macmillan, 1956), details the development of Methodism into a powerful denomination. The survival of deistic thought has been competently investigated by Albert Post, *Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1840* (Columbia, 1943). Elias L. Magoon, *Republican Christianity* (Boston, 1849), is an important book. Excellent material on perfectionism is available in Asa Mahan, *Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection* (Oberlin, 1839); the *Memoirs of the Reverend Charles G. Finney* (New York, 1876); and the periodical, *The Perfectionist*. Arthur Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), is the most useful account of the communitarian movement in both its religious and secular phases. Also valuable are Everett Webber, *Escape to Utopia: The Communal Movement in America* (Hastings House, 1959), and Mark Holloway, *Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America, 1680-1880* (Library Publishers, 1951). Edward Deming Andrews' *The People Called Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society* (Oxford, 1953) is a competent study. G. N. Noyes (ed.), *The Religious Experiences of John Humphrey Noyes* (Macmillan, 1923), is a fascinating firsthand account by a leading perfectionist, Joshua V. Himes, *Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology* (Boston, 1841), is an intriguing narrative of the Millerite movement by one of its leaders. It may be supplemented by the file of the *Second Advent Library* (Boston, 1840-1843), and by Clara Sears's popular study, *Days of Delusion* (Houghton Mifflin, 1924). Fawn M. Brodie's *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (Knopf, 1945) emphasises personal rather than doctrinal factors as the source of Smith's power. Joseph A. Geddes has described the movement for security within early Mormonism in *The United Order Among Mormons, Missouri Phase* (Columbia, 1922).

One of the best studies of culture contacts is Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation* (rev. ed., Harvard, 1959). Ray A. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860* (Macmillan, 1938), is a well-documented study of the early phase of nativism in American thought. A more specialized study of the same phenomenon is Barbara Miller Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition* (Harvard, 1956). Two valuable studies of German refugees are Carl Wittke's *Refugees*

useful information, but has been replaced by John F. Fulton and Elizabeth H. Thomson, *Benjamin Silliman* (Abelard-Schuman, 1947). Andrew D. Rogers, *John Torrey: A Study of North American Botany* (Princeton, 1942), pays tribute to a great botanist. Florian Cajori, *The Chequered Career of Ferdinand Rudolph Hassler* (Boston, 1929), is a convenient study. There are biographies of Maury by Dianna Corbin (London, 1880), J. A. Caskie (Richmond Press, 1928), John W. Wayland (Garrett and Massie, Richmond, 1930), and Charles L. Lewis (United States Naval Academy, 1927). Patricia Jahns, *Matthew Fontaine Maury and Joseph Henry: Scientists of the Civil War* (Hastings House, 1961), reaches into the antebellum period for background. Thomas Coulson, *Joseph Henry, His Life and Work* (Princeton, 1950), is a scholarly biography. William J. Rhees, *James Smithson and His Bequest* (Washington, 1880), has the main facts. Elizabeth Cary Agassiz, *Louis Agassiz: His Life and Correspondence* (2 vols., Boston, 1885), contains some useful and interesting documents, but the best study of Agassiz is Edward Lurie, *Louis Agassiz: A Life in Science* (University of Chicago Press, 1960). Other valuable biographies are: Merle Oger, *Alexander Dallas Bache, Scientist and Educator, 1806-1867* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947); Helen Wright, *Sweeper in the Sky: The Life of Maria Mitchell* (Macmillan, 1949); David B. Steinman, *The Builders of the Bridge* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1945), a biography of the Roeblings; and Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen, *Maya Explorer: John Lloyd Stephens and the Lost Cities of Central America and Yucatan* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1947).

The history of science is dealt with in Edward Dana, *A Century of Science in America* (Yale, 1918); George Merrill, *The First Hundred Years of American Geology* (Yale, 1924); Harry Weiss, *The Pioneer Century of American Entomology* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1936); Palmer Ricketts, *Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute* (Troy, 1933); Thomas C. Johnson, *Scientific Interests in the Old South* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1936); C. A. Webber, *The Coast and Geodetic Survey, Its History, Activities and Organizations* (Johns Hopkins, 1923); *The Naval Observatory, Its History, Activities, and Organization* (Johns Hopkins, 1926); Philip I. Mitterling, *America in the Antarctic to 1840* (University of Illinois Press, 1959); Daniel Hovey Calhoun, *The American Civil Engineer: Origins and Conflict* (Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1960); Richard H. Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America, 1660-1860*; and William F. Norwood, *Medical Education in the United States Before the Civil War* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944).

For health fads, see Thomas L. Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life* (London, 1874). Dr. Martin Paine's *A Defense of the Medical Profession of the United States* (New York, 1846) represents a literary defense of American doctors. Richard H. Shryock has set a high standard in his studies of the pub-

found in D. L. Dumond and G. H. Barnes (eds.), *Letters of Theodore Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké* (2 vols., Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1934). The M.S. Record Book of the Richmond, Virginia, Mercantile Library is a splendid source for the study of the problems involved in the maintenance of a mercantile library. Charles C. Jewett, *Notices of Public Libraries in the United States* (Washington, 1876) was a pioneer study. P. A. Siljeström, *Educational Institutions of the United States* (London, 1853), should not be overlooked.

A very convenient summary of the mass culture of the period is available in Allan Nevins' chapter, "Culture of the Masses," in the first volume of *Ordeal of the Union* (2 vols., Scribner, 1947). An interesting interpretation is Carl Bode's *The Anatomy of American Popular Culture, 1840-1861* (University of California Press, 1959). The essays in William Charvat, *Literary Publishing in America, 1790-1850* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), are very informative. Pertinent material may be found in J. Henry Harper, *The House of Harper* (Harper & Row, 1912), and George Haven Putnam, *George Palmer Putnam* (Putnam, 1912). Merle Curti, *The Learned Blacksmith* (Wilson-Erickson, 1937), tells of Elihu Burritt's crusade for self-culture in his own words. Sidney Ditzion has done pioneer work in the social history of the library movement. See especially his "Mechanics and Mercantile Libraries," *The Library Quarterly*, X (April, 1940). Joseph A. Borome's biography, *Charles Coffin Jewett* (American Library Association, 1951) is especially useful. Lawrence A. Cremin, *The American Common School: An Historic Conception* (Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951), is an excellent treatment. Paul Monroe, *The Founding of the American Public School System* (Macmillan, 1940), is informative. For the antebellum beginnings of graduate education, see Richard J. Storr, *The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America* (University of Chicago Press, 1953). Louise Hall Thorp has provided a vivid study of Mann in her *Until Victory: Horace Mann and Mary Peabody* (Little, Brown, 1953). A useful study of a particular state is Lloyd P. Jorgenson, *The Founding of Public Education in Wisconsin* (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1956). Richard D. Mosier, *Making the American Mind, Social and Moral Ideas in the McGuffey Readers* (King's Crown, 1944), attempts to assess the influence of McGuffey's widely used books.

Alan Macdonald, "Lowell: A Commercial Utopia," *New England Quarterly*, X (March, 1937), and Bertha-Monica Stearns, "Early Factory Magazines in New England," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, II (August, 1930), correct erroneous ideas regarding the culture of female mill workers. Arthur C. Cole, in *A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College* (Yale, 1940), provides much material for an understanding of the crusade to make higher education available to women. The first full-scale treatment of

Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Cage (Fowler and Wells, 1881). T. V. Smith, *The American Philosophy of Equality* (University of Chicago Press, 1927), ch. 3, provides a thoughtful discussion of the early feminist ideology. The older accounts of Utopian socialism by John H. Noyes, Charles Nordhoff, and William A. Hinds, have been in considerable part replaced by Arthur Bestor's *Backwoods Utopia*. Also quite useful on this subject are Mark Holloway, *Heavens on Earth*, and Everett Webber, *Escape to Utopia*.

No reform movement has received so much attention as the antislavery crusade. Gilbert H. Barnes broke new ground in emphasizing the contributions of western evangelists in *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1933). A contrasting treatment is available in Louis Filler, *The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860* (Harper & Row, 1960). Dwight L. Dumond, *Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America* (University of Michigan Press, 1961), is sympathetic and comprehensive. Special aspects of the antislavery movement are discussed in: Robert S. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College from its Foundation Through the Civil War* (Oberlin College, 1943); Philip D. Jordan, *Singin' Yankees* (University of Minnesota Press, 1946), a biography of the Hutchinson family; Russel B. Nye, *Fettered Freedom: Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1830-1860* (Michigan State College Press, 1949); Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (Yale, 1950); Hazel C. Wolf, *On Freedom's Altar: The Martyr Complex in the Abolition Movement* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1952); Henry H. Simms, *Emotion at High Tide: Abolition as a Controversial Factor, 1830-1845* (William Byrd Press, 1960); Larry Gara, *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* (University of Kentucky Press, 1961); and P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (Columbia, 1961).

Among the large number of biographies of individual reformers, the more useful are: Helen E. Marshall, *Dorothea Dix, Forgotten Samaritan* (University of North Carolina Press, 1937); Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Orestes A. Brownson, a Pilgrim's Progress* (Little, Brown, 1939); Ralph V. Harlow, *Gerrit Smith, Philanthropist and Reformer* (Holt, 1939); A. J. G. Perkins and Theresa Woolfson, *Frances Wright, Free Inquirer* (Harper & Row, 1939); Mason Wade, *Margaret Fuller, Whetstone of Genius* (Viking, 1940); Benjamin P. Thomas, *Theodore Weld, Crusader for Freedom* (Rutgers, 1950); Carl Wittke, *The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling, Nineteenth Century Reformer* (Louisiana State University Press, 1950); Margaret Cole, *Robert Owen of New Lanark* (Oxford, 1953); Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Horace Greeley: Nineteenth-Century Crusader* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953); Charles H. Foster, *The Rungless Ladder: Harriet Beecher*

enridge, *Formation and Development of the American Mind* (Baltimore, 1837). Thomas Starr King, *Patriotism and Other Papers* (Boston, 1864), deserves special attention. T. Addison Richards, *American Scenery Illustrated* (New York, 1854), illustrates a large category of materials.

For nationalism and patriotism in the arts, see Samuel F. B. Morse, *Academies of Art, a Discourse* (New York, 1827), and Horatio Greenough, *Form and Function: Remarks on Art* (University of California Press, 1947). American influence on European thought in this period is illustrated in Frederick Grimké, *Considerations upon the Nature and Tendency of Free Institutions* (New York, 1856); Michael Chevalier, *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States* (Boston, 1839); E. O. Haven, *Increased Mental Activity of the Age, Its Cause and Demands* (Ann Arbor, 1854), and Samuel Perkins, *The World as it is in 1841* (5th ed., Hartford, 1841).

There are several general histories of various aspects of American nationalism, such as Hans Kohn's *American Nationalism* and Albert K. Weinberg's *Manifest Destiny*, which are cited among the "General Works" at the beginning of this Bibliographical Note. Unfortunately, the history of nationalism and patriotism is a relatively neglected field, and monographs on the antebellum period are scarce. For a general introduction, see Merle Curti, "Wanted: a History of American Patriotism," *Proceedings of the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers*, XXXVI (1938), and "Young America," *American Historical Review*, XXXII (October, 1926), and *The Roots of American Loyalty* (Columbia Univ., 1946). Frank Freidel, *Francis Lieber, Nineteenth-Century Liberal* (Louisiana State University Press, 1947), is an interestingly told story. See also Merle Curti, "Francis Lieber and Nationalism," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, IV (April, 1941). Agnew O. Roorbach, *Development of the Social Studies in American Secondary Education before 1861* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937), offers some useful insights, as does Bessie L. Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1926). Other helpful monographs are Albert Matthews, "Brother Jonathan," *Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications* (January, 1901); "Uncle Sam," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., XIX (April, 1908); Ruth Finley, *The Lady of Godey's, Sarah Josepha Hale* (Lippincott, 1931); Arthur M. Schlesinger, "Patriotism Names the Baby," *New England Quarterly*, XIV (December, 1941); and Milo M. Quaife, *The Flag of the United States* (Grosset & Dunlap, 1942).

Oliver W. Larkin has emphasized nationalism and democracy in his *Samuel F. B. Morse and American Democratic Art* (Little, Brown, 1954). For other studies of nationalism and patriotism in literature and the arts, see Gustav Meyers, *The History of American Idealism*; William Alfred Bryan, *George Washington in American Literature, 1775-1865*; John Stafford, *The*

received monographic treatment, but a great deal remains to be investigated. Grace C. Landrum, "Notes on the Reading of the Old South," *American Literature*, III (March, 1931), and "Sir Walter Scott and His Literary Rivals in the Old South," *American Literature* II (November, 1930), were pioneer essays. Rollin G. Osterweis, *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South* (Yale, 1949) explores a fertile field, although it overemphasizes the importance of the romantic movement. Many of the essays in David K. Jackson (ed.), *American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd* (Duke, 1940), are concerned with southern antebellum intellectual history. On scientific interests see Thomas C. Johnson, *Scientific Interests in the Old South* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1936). Garvin Davenport's *Cultural Life in Nashville on the Eve of the Civil War* (University of North Carolina Press, 1941) is an interesting local study. Henry C. Forman's *The Architecture of the Old South: The Medieval Style, 1585-1850* (Harvard, 1948) is a welcome addition to cultural history, and may be compared with John P. Coolidge, *Mill and Mansion, A Study of Architecture and Society in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1820-1865* (Columbia, 1942). E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South* (Macmillan, 1928), may be supplemented by Albea Godbold's *The Church College of the Old South* (Duke, 1944). J. H. Easterby, *A History of the College of Charleston* (Charleston, 1935), is a competent monograph. Edgar W. Knight, *Public Education in the South* (Houghton Mifflin, 1932), is useful in spite of an overreliance on educational programs and expressions of aspiration. Edgar W. Knight (ed.), *A Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860* (5 vols., University of North Carolina Press, 1949-1953) is revealing. For the response to intersectional controversy see William S. Jenkins, *Proslavery Thought in the Old South* (University of North Carolina Press, 1935); Virginius Dabney, *Liberalism in the South* (University of North Carolina Press, 1932); and Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Duke, 1940). Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (University of Chicago Press, 1959), casts new light on the subject from several angles. Though it does not concentrate on the South, William Stanton's *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race, 1815-1859* (University of Chicago Press, 1960) is useful.

The social life of the Old South is discussed at some length in Clement Eaton's *A History of the Old South*. The lives of the plain people are illuminated by Frank L. Owsley's *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Louisiana State University Press, 1949). Also quite useful are Paul H. Buck, "The Poor White in the Ante-Bellum South," *American Historical Review*, XXXI (October, 1925); Shields McIlwain, *The Southern Poor-White from Lubberland to Tobacco Road* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1939); E. Merton Coulter, *The*

*the Free States, 1790-1860* (University of Chicago Press, 1961), discusses the fortunes of the free Negro outside the South. Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (Putnam, 1915), overestimates the incidence of literacy, but provides a good introduction to the subject.

Contemporary materials of more than ordinary interest are: the files of the *Southern Literary Messenger* and *DeBow's Review*; George C. Eggleston, *Recollections of a Varied Life* (Holt, 1910); Charles Frazer, *Recollections of Charleston* (New York, 1854); Ezra Ripley, *Social Life in Old New Orleans* (New York, 1912); Josiah C. Nott and George R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind* (Philadelphia, 1854); Lester B. Shippee (ed.), *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary, 1843-1844* (University of Minnesota Press, 1937); Chancellor Harper Sims, *The Story of My Life* (New York, 1895); Susan D. Smedes, *Memorials of a Southern Planter* (Baltimore, 1887); the novels of William Gilmore Simms; and Mary C. Simms Oliphant *et al.* (eds.), *The Letters of William Gilmore Simms* (5 vols., University of South Carolina Press, 1952-56); *The Writings of Hugh Legaré* (Charleston, 1846); Reuben Davis, *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians* (Boston, 1891); Hinton Rowan Helper, *The Impending Crisis* (New York, 1857); Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard States* (New York, 1859), *The Cotton Kingdom* (New York, 1862), and *A Journey in the Back Country* (New York, 1863). Carter G. Woodson (ed.), *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis, 1800-1860* (Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1926), should be read by everyone with more than a superficial interest in the subject. Frederick Douglass' *Life and Times, Written by Himself* (Hartford, 1881), is a great document.

### 18. *The Civil War and Intellectual Life*

For sentiments regarding peace and war on the eve of the conflict, see Merle Curti, *Peace or War: The American Struggle, 1636-1936* (Norton, 1936), ch. 2. Edward H. Wright, *Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931); Albert A. Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (Macmillan, 1924); and Ella Lonn, *Desertion during the Civil War* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1928), discuss various phases of opposition to the war. Bell I. Wiley, *Southern Negroes, 1861-1865* (Yale, 1938); Joseph C. Carroll, *Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800-1865* (Chapman & Grimes, 1938); Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (Columbia, 1943); and Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War* (Little, Brown, 1953), treat the subject of the Negro's ideas from differing angles.

Bradford Allen Booth (Knopf, 1951), is an interesting account of a visit by a European traveler during the war. Richard C. White, *National Hymns: How They are Written and How They are Not Written* (New York, 1861), recounts the story of the effort to secure a suitable national hymn by means of a competition. Arthur C. Cole has an informative discussion of war propaganda in *The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850-1865*. Frank Freidel, "The Loyal Publication Society: a Pro-Union Agency," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVI (December, 1939), is an able paper. The coverage of the war in the northern press has been the subject of several recent studies: Bernard Allen Weisberger, *Reporters for the Union* (Little, Brown, 1953); Louis Morris Starr, *Bohemian Brigade: Civil War Newsmen in Action* (Knopf, 1954); and J. Cutler Andrews, *The North Reports the Civil War* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955). Still useful are two briefer treatments, Hairlah Babcock, "The Press in the Civil War," *Journalism Quarterly*, VI (March, 1920), and Thomas F. Carroll, "Freedom of Speech and of Press during the Civil War," *Virginia Law Review*, IX (May, 1923).

Bell Irvin Wiley has discussed the soldiers' lives in his *Life of Johnny Reb* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1952), and *Life of Billy Yank* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1952). For northern soldiers' reading, see William F. Yust, "Soldiers' Reading in the Civil War," *The Outlook*, CXX (October 23, 1918); Philip Jordan (ed.), "William Slater's Forty Days with the Christian Commission, a Diary," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXXIII (1935); the *Reports of the United States Christian Commission* (Philadelphia, 1863-1865); Lemuel Moss, *Annals of the United States Christian Commission* (Philadelphia, 1868); and such reminiscences as *Memorials and Letters of the Rev. John R. Adams, D.D.* (privately printed, 1891); Frank Wilkeson, *Life of a Private Soldier* (London, 1896); Mason W. Tyler, *Recollections of the Civil War* (Putnam, 1912); and John D. Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee* (Boston, 1888). The Reverend H. Q. Butterfield, *United States Christian Commission, a Delegate's Story* (n.p., 1863), is an interesting account.

The discussion of intellectuals' interpretation of the impact of the war on literature, science, and thought is based on the *Smithsonian Collections*; the *Proceedings and Transactions* of the National Academy of Science, the American Philosophical Society, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the *American Journal of Science*, the *Annual of Scientific Discovery*, the files of the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Hunt's Merchants Magazine*, *Harper's Weekly*, *North American Review*, the *Independent*, and other periodicals. Thomas J. Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (Princeton, 1954), discusses some early analyses of the war. Robert A. Lively, *Fiction Fights the Civil War* (University of North Carolina Press, 1957), is an entertaining analysis of historical fiction about the war.



study. Helper's views were expressed in *La Nojoque: A Question for a Continent* (New York and London, 1867) and *Negroes and Negroland* (New York, 1868). Hampton M. Jarrell presents a sympathetic discussion of one southern leader in *Wade Hampton and the Negro: The Road Not Taken* (University of South Carolina Press, 1949). George R. Bentley's *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955) is an excellent study. Henderson H. Donald, *The Negro Freedman: The Life Conditions of the American Negro in the Early Years after Emancipation* (Abelard-Schuman, 1952), takes a gloomy view of the Negro's qualification for freedom. John Hope Franklin's *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (2nd ed., Knopf, 1956) and La Wanda Cox and John Cox, *Politics, Principles and Prejudice* (Free Press, 1963) present a different picture. Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., *Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life* (Little, Brown, 1955), is a readable essay. Also useful is Basil Mathews, *Booker T. Washington, Educator and Interracial Interpreter* (Harvard, 1948). Rayford W. Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901* (Dial Press, 1954), contains considerable discussion of intellectual history. A valuable local study is George Brown Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900* (University of South Carolina Press, 1952).

E. Merton Coulter, in *The South During Reconstruction* (Louisiana State University Press, 1947), discusses the effects of reconstruction on cultural and intellectual life. For a somewhat later period, chs. 6 and 16 of C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Louisiana State University Press, 1951), treat the mind and spirit of the South. For contrasting views of the impact of reconstruction on southern education, see Edgar W. Knight, *The Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South* (Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913); Henry L. Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870* (Vanderbilt University Press, 1941); William K. Boyd, "Educational History in the South since 1865," *Studies in Southern History and Politics* (Columbia, 1914); W. E. Burghardt Dubois, *Black Reconstruction* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1935); and Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (Prentice-Hall, 1934). Jessie Pearl Rice, J. L. M. Curry, *Southerner, Statesman and Educator* (King's Crown, 1949), is informative. Arthur Benjamin Chitty, Jr., *Reconstruction at Sewanee: The Founding of the University of the South, and its First Administration, 1857-1872* (University of the South Press, 1954), is a charming and brief account of the early years of that institution. Willard Range, *The Rise and Progress of Negro Colleges in Georgia, 1865-1949* (University of Georgia Press, 1951), is a well-documented study of Negro higher education. Valuable biographies of "New Departure" leaders are Joseph Frazier Wall, *Henry Waterson, Reconstructed Rebel* (Oxford, 1956); Isaac F. Marcossou, "Marse

Theodore C. Blegen has provided a choice collection of immigrant letters home in *Land of Their Choice: The Immigrants Write Home* (University of Minnesota Press, 1955). Other excellent expressions of immigrant thought and feeling are M. E. Ravage, *American in the Making* (Harper & Row, 1938); Jacob Riis, *The Making of an American* (Macmillan, 1901); and Mary Antin, *From Platzk to Boston* (W. B. Clarke and Co., 1899) and *The Promised Land* (Houghton Mifflin, 1912). Herbert Spencer, in *Essays, Scientific, Political, and Speculative* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1892), III, develops his thesis regarding the effect of assimilation. The problem is discussed from other angles by H. P. Bowditch, *The Growth of Children* (Boston, 1872), and John W. Draper, *Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America* (New York, 1865). For Depew's position, see John D. Champlin (ed.), *Orations, Addresses, and Speeches of Chauncey Depew* (10 vols., Austin and Lipscomb, 1910), III.

One of the best of the many biographies and quasi-autobiographies of Indians is Frank B. Linderman, *American: The Life Story of a Great Indian, Plenty-Coups. Sioux Chief* (John Day, 1936). The movement for Indian reform can be followed in the reports of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs, the proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Conference, and the reports of the Indian Rights Association. Helen Hunt Jackson's relation to the movement is competently discussed in Ruth Odell, *Helen Hunt Jackson* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1939). Also quite interesting is Helen Hunt Jackson's own major plea, *A Century of Dishonor* (Harper & Row, 1881). The most detailed study of Indian policy during this period is Loring B. Priest, *Uncle Sam's Step-Children: The Reformation of the United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887* (Rutgers, 1942). For a briefer treatment, see William Thomas Hagan, *American Indians* (University of Chicago Press, 1961). Katherine C. Turner discusses an interesting facet of the subject in *Red Men Calling on the Great White Father* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1951).

The social and economic ideas of western farmers are discussed in John Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (University of Minnesota Press, 1931). A provocative treatment is contained in Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform, from Bryan to F.D.R.* (Knopf, 1955). Pessimism and loneliness on the one hand, and an exuberant faith in the future of the West on the other, were reflected in many of the frontier folk songs. See especially Theodore C. Blegen, *Norwegian-Emigrant Songs and Ballads* (University of Minnesota Press, 1937) and *Grass Roots History* (University of Minnesota Press, 1947); Hamlin Garland, *Son of the Middle Border* (Macmillan, 1925) and *Prairie Songs* (Stone and Kimball, 1895); and Ole Rølvaag, *Giants in the Earth* (Harper & Row, 1929). The development of the more settled western areas is discussed in Lewis Atherton, *Main Street on the Middle Border* (Indiana University Press, 1954), and Merle Curti, et al., *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, 1959).

*Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West* (Houghton Mifflin, 1954) is a readable and scholarly study. Clarence King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevadas* (Boston, 1871), is excellent reading. Raphael Pumpelly, *My Reminiscences* (Holt, 1918), is fascinating. John Muir's articles in *Scribner's Monthly* and the *Century* in the 1880s did a great deal to interest eastern readers in the scenic beauty and scientific significance of the Far West. Edmund Pearson, *Dime Novels, or Following an Old Trail in Popular Literature* (Little, Brown, 1929) is popular but informative, and Albert Johannsen, *The House of Beadle and Adams and its Dime and Nickel Novels* (2 vols., University of Oklahoma Press, 1950), is a useful study.

## 20. *Business and the Life of the Mind*

Several excellent studies survey the ideas and values of the businessmen of the period. Irvin G. Wyllie has examined the rags to riches myth in *The Self-Made Man in America* (Rutgers, 1954). Edward C. Kirkland's *Dream and Thought in the Business Community, 1860-1900* (Cornell, 1956) is a well-balanced treatment. The essays in William Miller (ed.), *Men in Business: Essays in the History of Entrepreneurship* (Harvard, 1952), discuss the ideas and social origins of business leaders. Edward C. Kirkland has discussed recent changes in historians' attitudes toward businessmen in "The Robber Barons Revisited," *American Historical Review*, LXVI (October, 1960). Other enlightening discussions may be found in Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878* (Macmillan, 1927); Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (Macmillan, 1933); Lewis Mumford, *The Brown Decades* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1931); Dixon Wecter, *The Saga of American Society* (Scribner, 1937); Van Wyck Brooks, *New England: Indian Summer* (Dutton, 1940); Stewart Holbrook, *The Age of the Moguls* (Doubleday, 1953); and Edward C. Kirkland, *Industry Comes of Age: Business Labor, and Public Policy, 1860-1897* (Holt, 1961).

*The Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie* (Houghton Mifflin, 1920) is interesting and informative. Robert Green McCloskey has a pungent discussion of Andrew Carnegie in *American Conservatism in the Age of Enterprise: A Study of William Graham Sumner, Stephen J. Field, and Andrew Carnegie* (Harvard, 1951). Rowland Gibson Hazard's granddaughter, Caroline Hazard, edited three volumes of his writings, *Economics and Politics* (Houghton Mifflin, 1889), *Freedom of the Mind in Willing* (Houghton Mifflin, 1889), and *Causation and Freedom in Willing* (Houghton Mifflin, 1889). Other valuable biographical studies are William Croffut, *The Vanderbilts and the Story of Their Heritage* (Bedford, Clark and Co., 1886); Bouck White, *The*

States are engagingly presented in *Art-Hints* (New York, 1856), *The Art Idea: Sculpture, Painting and Architecture in America* (New York, 1866), and *Art Thoughts* (New York, 1870).

Ellis P. Oberholzer, *A History of the United States since the Civil War* (5 vols., Macmillan, 1917-1937), III, discusses Dudley Field and legal ethics. Mark Hopkins, *Lectures on Moral Science* (Boston, 1870); Josiah G. Holland, *Every-Day Topics* (Scribner, 1876); Jonathan Harrison, *Certain Dangerous Tendencies in American Life* (Boston, 1880); and Henry Cabot Lodge, *Early Memories* (Scribner, 1913), are useful. *The Autobiography of Charles Francis Adams* (Houghton Mifflin, 1918), and, of course, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Houghton Mifflin, 1918), are outstanding.

Quentin Anderson, *The American Henry James* (Rutgers, 1957), examines James in a context of American ideas. Leon Edel has begun what promises to be a definitive biography with *Henry James: The Untried Years, 1843-1870* (Lippincott, 1953). Henry Lubbock (ed.), *The Letters of Henry James* (2 vols., Macmillan, 1920), should be read by any serious student. Other useful evaluations of James are J. B. Beach, *The Method of Henry James* (Yale, 1918); Van Wyck Brooks, *The Pilgrimage of Henry James* (Dutton, 1925); and C. P. Kelley, *The Early Development of Henry James* (University of Illinois Press, 1930). William Dean Howells' novels, especially *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, are important. Edwin H. Cady, *The Road to Realism: The Early Years, 1837-1885, of William Dean Howells* (Syracuse University Press, 1956), and *Realist at War: The Mature Years, 1885-1920, of William Dean Howells* (Syracuse University Press, 1958), is the most thorough biography. A useful study of Howells' social ideas is Robert Lee Hough's *The Quiet Rebel: William Dean Howells as a Social Commentator* (University of Nebraska Press, 1959). Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson (eds.), *Mark Twain-Howells Letters: The Correspondence of Samuel L. Clemens and William D. Howells, 1872-1910* (2 vols., Harvard, 1960), repays reading. Walter F. Taylor, *The Economic Novel in America* (University of North Carolina Press, 1942); Edward C. Cassady, "The Business Man in the American Novel" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, 1938); and Robert L. Shurter, "The Utopian Novel in America, 1865-1900" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1936), are useful critical-historical studies. Martin S. Peterson, *Joaquin Miller, Literary Frontiersman* (Stanford, 1931) provides background material on *The Destruction of Gotham*. Two excellent and stimulating discussions of the reputation of businessmen, differing in approach, are Edward C. Kirkland, *Business in the Gilded Age: The Conservatives' Balance Sheet* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1952), and Sigmund Diamond, *The Reputation of the American Businessman* (Harvard, 1955).

Rollo Ogden, *Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin* (2 vols., Mac-

*can Theology* (King's Crown, 1941), and Thomas Le Duc, *Piety and Intellect at Amherst College, 1865-1912* (Columbia, 1946), are scholarly discussions.

Bernard Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River*, and William McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham*, are informative discussions of popular religion. Gamaliel Bradford, *Dwight L. Moody: A Worker in Souls* (Doubleday, 1927), stresses psychological factors. Paul D. Moody, *My Father: An Intimate Portrait of Dwight Moody* (Little, Brown, 1938), is naturally sympathetic. Maud B. Booth, *Beneath Two Flags* (Funk & Wagnalls, 1889), and Ballington Booth, *From Ocean to Ocean* (J. S. Ogilvie, n.d.), are sympathetic accounts of the Salvation Army. F. de L. Booth-Tucker, *The Social Relief Work of the Salvation Army in the United States* (J. B. Lyon and Co., 1900), gives the main outlines. Several studies cast light on the important influence of urbanization and industrialism: Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914* (University of Chicago Press, 1957); Aaron Ignatius Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900* (Harvard, 1943); Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (Harper & Row, 1949); Ray Ginger, *Altgeld's America: The Lincoln Ideal versus Changing Realities* (Funk & Wagnalls, 1958); and Blanche Housman Gelfant, *The American City Novel* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1954).

Anthony Comstock's own defense of himself may be found in *Frauds Exposed* (J. H. Brown, 1880), and *Traps for the Young* (Funk & Wagnalls, 1883). Heywood Broun and Margaret Leech, *Anthony Comstock* (Boni, 1927), is a sophisticated and journalistic account. Mary A. Bennett, *Elizabeth Stuart Phelps* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939), is a well-organized and competent biography. Lew Wallace, *My Autobiography* (2 vols., Harper & Row, 1906), gives the story of the writing of *Ben Hur*. Earl Barnes, "Theological Life of a California Child," *Pedagogical Seminary*, II, (1892), is a pioneer child-study report. Winfred E. Garrison, *The March of Faith* (Harper & Row, 1933), emphasizes social forces. Simon Newcomb, *The Reminiscences of an Astronomer* (Houghton Mifflin, 1903), is good reading and informative. A. Trevor Barker has edited the *Complete Works of H. B. Blavatsky* (Rider and Co., London, 1933-1936). C. E. B. Roberts, *Mysterious Madame, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1931), is a vivid account. Ella Wheeler Wilcox tells of her interest in spiritualism and theosophy in *The Worlds and I* (Doubleday, 1918). Lyman P. Powell, *Mary Baker G. Eddy, A Life Size Portrait* (Macmillan, 1931), meets Christian Scientists' approval. Norman Beasley, *The Cross and the Crown* (Little, Brown, 1952), is a popularization. Less sympathetic studies are E. F. Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy, the Biography of a Virginial Mind* (Scribner, 1929), and Ernest Sutherland Bates and J. V. Dittmore, *Mary Baker G. Eddy* (Knopf, 1933). For the mental

Willard Gibbs (Doubleday, 1942). *The Physical Papers of Henry August Rowland* (Johns Hopkins, 1902) is a scientific classic. The development of evolutionary theories in geological thought can be followed conveniently in George P. Merrill, *The First Hundred Years of American Geology*.

Every student of this period is much indebted to Bert J. Loewenberg for his scholarly and brilliant work on the reception of evolutionary theories in the United States. His extensive research has been admirably summarized in "The Reaction of American Scientists to Darwinism," *American Historical Review*, XXXVIII (1933), and "Darwinism Comes to America," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVIII (1941). The first chapter of Richard Hofstadter's *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (rev. ed., Beacon Press, 1955), is another brief account of the reception of Darwinism. Some of the essays in Stow Persons (ed.), *Evolutionary Thought in America* (Yale, 1950), are important.

Daniel C. Gilman, *Life of James Dwight Dana* (Harper & Row, 1899), is old but still useful. A. Hunter Dupree's life of Gray, *Asa Gray, 1810-1888* (Harvard, 1959), is a distinguished contribution. For Gray's relationships with Darwin, see Asa Gray, *Darwiniana: Essays and Reviews Pertaining to Darwin* (New York, 1876); the *Calendar of the Letters of Charles Robert Darwin to Asa Gray* (Historical Records Survey, Boston, 1938); and Jane Loring Gray (ed.), *The Letters of Asa Gray* (2 vols., Houghton Mifflin, 1893). Edward Lurie's *Louis Agassiz: A Life in Science* is excellent. George Frederick Wright's position may be followed in his *Man and the Glacial Period* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1892) and *Story of my Life and Work* (Bibliotheca Sacra Co., 1916). *The Autobiography of George Le Conte* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1903) is an important contemporary source. Milton Berman, *John Fiske: The Evolution of a Popularizer* (Harvard, 1961), discusses in detail Fiske's attempt to reconcile evolution and theology. Particularly informative are Fiske's *Excursions of an Evolutionist* (Houghton Mifflin, 1893), and *A Century of Science* (Houghton Mifflin, 1899). J. S. Clark, *The Life and Letters of John Fiske* (2 vols., Houghton Mifflin, 1917), and Ethel Fisk, *The Letters of John Fiske* (Macmillan, 1940), contain a great deal of relevant material. Ira V. Brown's *Lyman Abbott, Christian Evolutionist: A Study in Religious Liberalism* (Harvard, 1953) emphasizes Abbott's role as a popularizer of ideas. Chauncey Wright, *Philosophic Discussions* (Holt, 1877), is a brilliant book; Wright's *Letters* (C. W. Sever, 1878) are excellent. There is no adequate life. Charles M. Schuchert and Clary M. LeVene have prepared a documented biography of O. C. Marsh, *Pioneer in Paleontology* (Yale, 1941). David Lowenthal, *George Perkins Marsh: Versatile Vermonter* (Columbia, 1958), is a well-rounded and thorough biography. Also useful is H. F. Osborn, *Cope: Master Naturalist* (Princeton, 1931).

still readable, but Stow Persons' *Free Religion: An American Faith* is definitive. Morton G. White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt Against Formalism* (Viking, 1949), analyzes the ideas of several pragmatists or near-pragmatists. Edward C. Moore is concerned with the internal problems of philosophy in his *American Pragmatism: Peirce, James and Dewey* (Columbia, 1961). Philip P. Wiener's *Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism* (Harvard, 1949) is a superior study of the influence of evolutionary ideas on early pragmatists. Peirce's writings are available in Arthur W. Burks, Charles Hartshorne, and Paul Weiss (eds.), *The Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce* (8 vols., 2nd ed., Harvard, 1960). James Feibleman has systematically surveyed Peirce's thought in *An Introduction to Peirce's Philosophy* (Harper & Row, 1946). Murray G. Murphey traces the chronological development of Peirce's thought in *The Development of Peirce's Philosophy* (Harvard, 1961). Much more convenient than the *Collected Papers* is Philip P. Wiener (ed.), *Values in a Universe of Chance: Selected Writings of Charles S. Peirce* (Doubleday, 1958). Ralph Barton Perry, *The Thought and Character of William James*, is the standard biography. James first clearly expounded his pragmatic philosophy in *Pragmatism, a New Name for Old Ways of Thinking* (Longmans (David McKay Co.), 1907) and in *The Will to Believe, and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy* (Longmans (David McKay Co.), 1898). See also the *Essays in Radical Empiricism* (Longmans (David McKay Co.), 1922), *A Pluralistic Universe* (Longmans (David McKay Co.), 1909), and *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (Longmans (David McKay Co.), 1902). A number of James's important books are available in modern printings. There is an engaging essay on Santayana by Morris Cohen in the third volume of *The Cambridge History of American Literature*. The most complete exposition of Santayana's thought is *The Life of Reason* (5 vols., Scribner, 1905-1906). Santayana's autobiography, *Persons and Places* (2 vols., Scribner, 1944-1945), is very readable. Edmund Montgomery, a neglected thinker in his own times, has received attention in two recent studies, I. K. Stephens, *The Hermit Philosopher of Liendo* (Southern Methodist University Press, 1951), and Morris T. Keeton, *The Philosophy of Edmund Montgomery* (University Press, Dallas, n.d.).

Sidney Hook's *John Dewey* (John Day, 1939) is a good brief introduction. Morton G. White, *Origin of Dewey's Instrumentalism* (Columbia, 1943), is one of the most important of the vast number of discussions of Dewey available to the student and scholar. In the last resort, there is no better approach to Dewey than through his own books. In addition to the works already cited, important books are *Essays on Experimental Logic* (University of Chicago Press, 1916), *The Theory of Inquiry* (Holt, 1938), *Democracy and Education* (Macmillan, 1916), *The Public and Its Problems* (Holt, 1927), *Liberalism*

1951), examines Brooks Adams as a conservative critic of American society. No serious student should miss Brooks Adams' *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma* (Macmillan, 1919).

In addition to Turner's own writings, see the splendid essay by Fulmer Mood in *The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1938); Fulmer Mood, "The Development of Frederick Jackson Turner as a Historical Thinker," *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXXIV, (1938-1941); Avery O. Craven's keen essay in the *Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American History*; Merle Curti's treatment in Stuart Rice (ed.), *Methods in Social Science* (University of Chicago Press, 1931); and the critically searching papers by George W. Pierson, especially "The Frontier and Frontiersmen of Turner's Essays," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXIV (October, 1940). Ray A. Billington is preparing a biography of Turner.

James Harvey Robinson, *The New History* (Macmillan, 1921), is a landmark. Cushing Strout discusses Beard and Becker competently and dispassionately in *The Pragmatic Revolt in American History: Carl Becker and Charles Beard* (Yale, 1958). Burleigh Taylor Wilkins' *Carl Becker: A Biographical Study in American Intellectual History* (Harvard, 1961) is rewarding. The essays in Raymond O. Rockwood (ed.), *Carl Becker's Heavenly City Revisited* (Cornell, 1958) are uneven, but some are particularly perceptive. Charlotte W. Smith, *Carl Becker: On History and the Climate of Opinion* (Cornell, 1956), is a detailed analysis of Becker's writings. Howard K. Beale (ed.), *Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal* (University of Kentucky Press, 1954), contains valuable essays. Also useful is Bernard C. Borning, *The Political and Social Thought of Charles A. Beard* (University of Washington Press, 1962).

For economics, a first-rate introduction is Thorstein Veblen, "Why Is Economics Not an Evolutionary Science?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XII (July, 1898), and *Theory of the Leisure Class* (Macmillan, 1899). A significant treatment of Veblen is that by Wesley C. Mitchell in *A Quarter Century of Learning, 1904-1929* (Columbia, 1931). This may be supplemented by Joseph Dorfman's outstanding study, *Thorstein Veblen and his America* (Viking, 1934).

More studies of particular disciplines are needed. Two works that prepare ground are L. L. and Jessie Bernard, *Origins of American Sociology: The Social Science Movement in the United States* (Crowell, 1943), and Fay Berger Karpf, *American Social Psychology, Its Origins, Development and European Background* (McGraw-Hill, 1932). Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (Holt, 1925), a monumental repository of information, is useful for American thought during this period. The discussions of Sumner and Lester Frank Ward in Richard Hofstadter's *Social*



lier-Morgan Letters, 1873-1895 (University of New Mexico Press, 1940), and George P. Hammond and Edgar F. Goad (eds.), *A Scientist on the Trail: Travel Letters of A. F. Bandelier, 1880-1881* (Quivira Society Publications, Berkeley, 1949).

### 23. Professionalization and Popularization of Learning

Ideals of scholarship and research in relation to American society can be followed in James B. Angell, *The Old and the New Ideal of Scholars* (Ann Arbor, 1905); Carl Snyder, "America's Inferior Position in the Scientific World," *North American Review*, CLXXIV (January, 1902); Charles S. Slichter, "Recent Criticisms of American Scholarship," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* XIV (1903). Paul Shorey, "American Scholarship," *The Nation*, XCII (May 11, 1911); A. Lawrence Lowell, *At War with Academic Traditions in America* (Harvard, 1934); T. Atkinson Jenkins, "Scholarship and Public Spirit," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, XIX (1914); Charles P. Steinmetz, "Scientific Research in Relation to Industries," *Journal of the Franklin Institute* (December, 1916); and Raymond F. Bacon, "The Value of Research to Industry," *Science* (December 18, 1914), are important papers. The impact of German scholarship is discussed from various points of view by Charles F. Thwing, *The American and the German University* (Macmillan, 1928); J. M. Coulter in the *University of Chicago Record*, VIII (February, 1904); Basil Gildersleeve, "Classical Studies in America," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXVIII (1896); Edward A. Ross, *Seventy Years of It* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1937); John W. Burgess, *Reminiscences of an American Scholar* (Columbia, 1934); and Richard T. Ely, *Ground Under Our Feet* (Macmillan, 1938). James Harry Cotton, *Royce on the Human Self* (Harvard, 1954), is technical but reveals the influence of German thought on a major philosopher. Bernard Edward Brown, *American Conservatives: The Political Thought of Francis Lieber and John W. Burgess* (Columbia, 1951) is a useful review of the ideas of two political thinkers. Thomas Le Duc's *Piety and Intellect at Amherst College, 1865-1912* (Columbia, 1946) shows quite specifically the influence of German scholarship on one academic institution.

The development of higher studies can be followed in Nicholas Murray Butler, *Across the Busy Years* (2 vols., Scribner, 1939); Samuel E. Morison (ed.), *The Development of Harvard University since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869-1929* (Harvard, 1930); *A Quarter Century of Learning, 1904-1929* (Columbia, 1930); G. Stanley Hall, *The Life and Confessions of a Psychologist*; and Daniel C. Gilman, *Launching a University*

Mallory, *University Teaching by Mail* (Macmillan, 1923); and A. L. Hall-Quest, *The University Afield* (Macmillan, 1926). A somewhat pessimistic contemporary essay by George H. Palmer appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, LXIX (March, 1892). Ruth Frankel, Henry M. *Leipziger, Educator and Idealist* (Macmillan, 1933), competently tells the story of an interesting career. Owen Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need* (Association Press, 1939), and Grace H. Wilson, *Educational Philosophy of the Young Women's Christian Association* (Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933), are competent studies.

David Mead, *Yankee Eloquence in the Middle West: The Ohio Lyceum* (Michigan State College Press, 1951), discusses fifteen popular lyceum lecturers. Joseph E. Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement* (State University of New York Press, 1961), is brief and incomplete, and should be supplemented by Ellwood Hendrick, *Lewis Miller, a Biographical Essay* (Putnam, 1925); Leon H. Vincent, *John Heyl Vincent, a Biographical Sketch* (Macmillan, 1925); and John H. Vincent, *The Chautauqua Movement* (Chautauqua Press, 1886). The brief sketch in the useful bibliography of Chautauqua publications prepared by Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., *Chautauqua Publications* (Chautauqua Press, 1934), is excellent. Gay Maclaren, *Morally We Roll Along* (Little, Brown, 1938), and Marion Scott, *Caravan* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1939), are delightful accounts of experiences in the later commercial circuit Chautauqua. Charles F. Horner, *Life of James A. Redpath* (Barse and Hopkins, 1926), is hardly an adequate biography. Kermit Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton, Apostle of Culture in a Democracy* (Harvard, 1959), is an interesting discussion of Norton's efforts to effect a working synthesis of culture and democracy.

• Sidney Ditzion, "Social Reform, Education and the Library, 1850-1900," in *Library Quarterly*, IX (April, 1939), is a careful piece of research on an important subject. J. C. Croly, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America* (Henry G. Allen and Co., 1898), is a storehouse of information on this subject. *The Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans as Told by Themselves* (James Pott and Co., 1906) should not be overlooked by any student of the ideas of the plain people. Richard B. Kenna, *The Private Correspondence School Enrollee* (Columbia University, 1940), and John S. Noffsinger, *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauquas* (Macmillan, 1926), may be consulted for commercial correspondence schools. Raymond H. Shove, *Cheap Book Production in the United States, 1870 to 1891* (University of Illinois Library, 1937), is better on the quantitative than the qualitative aspects of the subject. Although there is much scattered material on publication in the *Publishers' Weekly*, United States Census Reports, and the autobiographies of publishers, the whole subject needs further investigation. James H. Wellard, *Book Selection* (Grafton and Co.,

*Farewell to Reform* (Liveright, 1932); Harold U. Faulkner, *The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914* (Macmillan, 1931); Sidney Fine, *Laissez Faire and the General Welfare State: A Study of Conflict in American Thought, 1865-1901* (University of Michigan Press, 1956); Eric Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform* (Knopf, 1952); Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914*; Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform, from Bryan to F.D.R.* (Knopf, 1955); Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912-1917*, and David W. Noble, *The Paradox of Progressive Thought* (University of Minnesota Press, 1958).

There is no better introduction to the ideas of protest and reform than the outstanding writings of principal reformers: Henry George, *Progress and Poverty* (Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1940); James B. Weaver, *A Call to Action* (Iowa Printing Company, 1892); Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward, 2000-1887* (Houghton Mifflin, 1887); and Henry D. Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (Harper & Row, 1894). Charles A. Barker's biography, *Henry George* (Oxford, 1955), is a definitive study. Arthur E. Morgan, *Edward Bellamy* (Columbia, 1944), and Sylvia E. Bowman, *The Year 2000: A Critical Biography of Edward Bellamy* (Bookman Associates, 1958), are based on solid research. Anna George de Mille, *Henry George: Citizen of the World* (University of North Carolina Press, 1950), is an intimate portrait by George's oldest daughter. The best available biographical study of Lloyd is Caro Lloyd, *Henry Demarest Lloyd, 1847-1903* (2 vols., Putnam, 1912). Reminiscences and autobiographies of importance include Gregory Weinstein, *The Ardent Eighties* (International Press, 1928); Helen Rand Thayer, "Blazing the Settlement Trail," *Smith Alumnae Quarterly* (April, 1911); Jacob Riis, *A Ten Years' War* (Houghton Mifflin, 1900); Vida D. Scudder, *On Journey* (Dutton, 1937); Frederic C. Howe, *The Confessions of a Reformer* (Scribner, 1925); Lincoln Steffens, *Autobiography* (2 vols., Harcourt, Brace & World, 1931), and Ray Stannard Baker's autobiography, *American Chronicle* (Scribner, 1945). Amos Warner, *American Charities* (Crowell, 1894, and many revised editions), is a standard work.

Theories of reform through currency control and taxation revision are expounded in W. H. Harvey, *Coin's Financial School* (Coin Publishing Co., 1894); Ignatius Donnelly, *The American People's Money* (Chicago, 1895); William Jennings Bryan, *The First Battle* (W. B. Conkey Co., 1896); and George's *Progress and Poverty*. Chester McA. Destler, "The Influence of Edward Kellogg upon American Radicalism, 1865-1896," *Journal of Political Economy*, XL (June, 1932), is a valuable study. Sidney Ratner, *American Taxation, Its History as a Social Force in Democracy* (Norton, 1942), chs. 9 and 10, and Elmer Ellis, "Public Opinion and the Income

1917 (American History Research Center, Madison, Wisconsin, 1957). For contrasting treatments of Populism, see Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*; Eric Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny*, and John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party* (University of Minnesota Press, 1955). Cornelius C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* and Louis Filler, *Crusaders for American Liberalism*, are the leading studies of the muckraking crusade. Frank M. Stewart, *The National Civil Service Reform League* (University of Texas, 1929), and Clifford W. Patton, *The Battle for Municipal Reform: Mobilization and Attack, 1865-1900* (American Council on Public Affairs, 1940), are competent and give the main facts.

Arthur S. Link, *Wilson* (3 vols., Princeton, 1947-1960) is a well-documented and thorough biography. John Morton Blum's brief essay, *Woodrow Wilson and the Politics of Morality* (Little, Brown, 1956), is perceptive and stimulating. Other valuable studies of Wilson are William Diamond, *The Economic Thought of Woodrow Wilson* (Johns Hopkins, 1943), and the essays in Earl Latham (ed.), *The Philosophy and Policies of Woodrow Wilson* (University of Chicago Press, 1958). John Morton Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (Harvard, 1954), is a well-written and interesting analysis of Roosevelt's personality. Carleton Putnam has published one volume of a projected multivolume biography, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years* (Scribner, 1958). Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (8 vols., Harvard, 1951-1954), is a superior collection. Other significant biographical studies are Eric F. Goldman, *Charles J. Bonaparte, Patrician Reformer: His Earlier Career* (Johns Hopkins, 1943); Edward A. Fitzpatrick, *McCarthy of Wisconsin* (Columbia, 1944); Charles Madison, *Critics and Crusaders* (2nd ed., Ungar, 1959), a composite biography of a number of reform leaders; Alpheus Thomas Mason, *Brandeis: A Free Man's Life* (Viking, 1946); Walter Johnson, *William Allen White's America* (Holt, 1947), and *Selected Letters of William Allen White, 1899-1943* (Holt, 1947); Belle Case La Follette and Fola La Follette, *Robert M. La Follette* (Macmillan, 1953); C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel* (Holt, 1955); and Paul W. Glad, *The Trumpet Soundeth: William Jennings Bryan and His Democracy, 1896-1912* (University of Nebraska Press, 1960).

For the beginnings of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, the Urban League, and similar groups, see the annual reports and bulletins of these organizations, and Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Color Line* (Doubleday, 1908), and W. E. B. DuBois, *Dusk of Dawn* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1940). See also M. A. de Wolfe Howe, *Portrait of an Independent, Moorfield Storey* (Houghton Mifflin, 1932).

and Alexander Berkman, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* (Mother Earth Publishing Co., 1912), are the best introduction to anarchistic ideas in the United States. Richard T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in the United States* (T. Y. Crowell, 1886), reveals the insights of one reformer. The writings on the labor movement by John R. Commons and Selig Perlman are significant. Florence Calvert Thorne, *Samuel Gompers: American Statesman* (Philosophical Library, 1957), discusses Gompers' ideas. Philip Taft, *The AF of L in the Time of Gompers* (Harper & Row, 1957), is scholarly and well documented. Revealing contemporary writings are Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (2 vols., Dutton, 1923); *The Autobiography of Mother Jones* (Charles H. Kerr, 1925), and *Bill Haywood's Book* (International Publishers, 1929).

Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, available in many editions, should be supplemented by his *Equality* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1897), and *Bellamy Speaks Again* (Peerage Press, 1937). Although James Dombrowski's *The Early Days of Christian Socialism* (Columbia, 1936), is still useful at many points, it has been in the main replaced by Charles H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915* (Yale, 1940); Aaron Ignatius Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism*; Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America*; and Aaron Ignatius Abell, *American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice, 1865-1950*. Washington Gladden, *Recollections* (Houghton Mifflin, 1909), and his various writings, especially *Applied Christianity* (Houghton Mifflin, 1886) and *Christianity and Socialism* (Eaton and Mains, 1905), are important. W. D. P. Bliss, *Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (Funk & Wagnalls, 1897; rev. ed., 1908), is a mine of information. Charles M. Sheldon, *In His Steps* (Thompson and Thomas, n.d.), has gone through many editions. Herron's writings include *The Message of Jesus to Men of Wealth* (Revell, 1891), *The Christian Society* (Revell, 1894), *Between Caesar and Jesus* (Crowell, 1899), and *The Day of Judgment* (Charles H. Kerr, 1904). Rauschenbush's most important contributions are *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (Macmillan, 1907), *Christianizing the Social Order* (Macmillan, 1912), and *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (Macmillan, 1917). D. R. Sharp, *Walter Rauschenbush* (Macmillan, 1942), is adequate.

## 25. The Conservative Defense

Valuable discussions of the conservative defense may be found in Charles E. Merriam, *American Political Ideas: Studies in the Development of American Political Thought, 1865-1917* (Macmillan, 1920), and Edward R.

*well and His Work* (Winston, 1927). A critical account is the one by W. C. Crosby in the *American Mercury*, XIV (May, 1928). Margaret Connolly, *The Life Story of Orison Swett Marden, 1850-1924* (Crowell, 1925), is the only biography thus far. Dixon Wecter's *The Hero in America*, (Scribner, 1941) is bright and well documented. Excellent discussions of the businessman's reputation are available in Edward G. Kirkland, *Business in the Gilded Age: The Conservatives' Balance Sheet*, and Sigmund Diamond, *The Reputation of the American Businessman*.

The beneficence of capitalism was upheld in the writings of John Bates Clark; see his "The Society of the Future," *The Independent*, LIII (July 18, 1901). Thorstein Veblen's criticism of Clark in *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization and Other Essays* (Huebsch, 1919) is a brilliant analysis. James L. Boswell summarizes Patten's ideas in *The Economics of Simon Nelson Patten* (Holt, 1934). Rexford G. Tugwell's "The Life and Work of Simon Patten," *Journal of Political Economy*, XXXI (April, 1923), and Scott Nearing's *Educational Frontiers* (Seltzer, 1925) are appreciative tributes by former pupils. Frederick W. Taylor's *Principles of Scientific Management* (Harper & Row, 1911) is the classic in the field. B. F. Copley's *Frederick W. Taylor, Father of Scientific Management* (Harper & Row, 1923) is an appreciative study. For a brief account of Ivy Lee, see *Literary Digest*, CXVII (June 9, 1934) and CXVIII (November 17, 1934).

The best brief account of the foundations is Frederick P. Keppel, *The Foundation, Its Place in American Life* (Macmillan, 1930). The best source for contemporary criticisms is the *Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations* (Washington, 1915). Truxton Beale (ed.), *The Man versus the State: a Collection of Essays by Herbert Spencer* (Kennerley, 1916), contains evaluations of Spencer's social philosophy and its applicability in 1915 by Nicholas Murray Butler, William Howard Taft, Elihu Root, Henry Cabot Lodge, Harlan Stone, and others.

## 26. America Recrosses the Oceans

The history of the sentiment for intervention in Europe in behalf of liberty is dealt with in several studies: Eugene P. Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800* (Columbia, 1942); Merle Curti, *Austria and the United States, 1848-1852* (*Smith College Studies in History*, XI, no. 3, 1926), and "Young America," *American Historical Review*, XXXII (October, 1926); and J. Fred Rippy, *America and the Strife of Europe* (University of Chicago Press, 1938). The most recent general treatment is Edward McNall Burns, *The American Idea of Mission* (Rutgers, 1957).

The idea of a glorious overseas commercial destiny is analyzed, with docu-

For the impact of World War I on American intellectual life, see Merle Curti, "The American Scholar in Three Wars," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, III (June, 1942); Guy Stanton Ford, *On and Off the Campus* (University of Minnesota Press, 1938); Frederic P. Keppell, "American Scholarship in the War," *Columbia University Quarterly*, XXI (July, 1919); Park R. Kolbe, *The Colleges in War Time and After* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1919); Andrew F. West, *The War and Education* (Princeton, 1919); and Sidney Kaplan, "Social Engineers as Saviors: Effects of World War I on Some American Liberals" in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVII (June, 1956). James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words that Won the War* (Princeton, 1939), gives the main outlines of the war propaganda.

## 27. Prosperity, Disillusionment, Criticism

The tendency of many in the 1920s to ascribe to the war much that seemed to characterize the decade is illustrated in the sprightly book by Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday* (Harper & Row, 1931), and in Mark Sullivan's impressionistic volume, *The Twenties* (Scribner, 1935). For a longer-range perspective, see Preston W. Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After, 1914-1928* (Macmillan, 1928). For an examination of isolationist ideas, see Selig Adler, *The Isolationist Impulse: Its Twentieth Century Reaction* (Abelard-Schuman, 1957). Also, see Arthur S. Link's perceptive analysis "What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920's?," *American Historical Review*, LXIV (July, 1959), and Henry May's *The End of American Innocence* (Knopf, 1959), and "Shifting Perspectives on the 1920's," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIII (December, 1956).

American attitudes toward Europe and European criticisms may be followed in Francis P. Miller and Helen Hill, *Giant of the Western World* (Morrow, 1930); Frank Crane, "The New Internationalism," *Current Opinion*, LXXVII (September, 1924), and LXXVIII (March, 1925); Struthers Burt, "Furor Britannicus," *Saturday Evening Post*, CC (August 20, 1927); J. L. Chastenet, *L'Oncle Shylock ou l'imperialisme americaine à la conquête du monde* (Paris, 1927); Georges Duhamel, *America the Menace* (Houghton Mifflin, 1931); C. E. M. Joad, *The Babbitt Warren* (Harper & Row, 1927); J. F. C. Fuller, *Atlantis, America and the Future* (Dutton, 1926); and Frederick C. Barghorn, *The Soviet Image of the United States* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1950).

An informative study of the Red Scare is found in Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare; A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (University of Minnesota Press, 1955). Nativism and the restriction of immigration are analyzed in

*American Magazine*, and *True Story Magazine*. E. W. Howe, *The Blessing of Business* (Crane and Co., 1918), and *Ventures in Common Sense* (Knopf, 1919); Garet Garrett, *The American Omen* (Dutton, 1923); J. G. Frederick, *The Great Game of Business, its Rules, its Fascination* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1920); Walter B. Pitkin, *The Psychology of Achievement* (Simon and Schuster, 1930); and Thomas Nixon Carver, *The Recent Economic Revolution in the United States* (Little, Brown, 1926), illustrate the business philosophy of the decade. William E. Leuchtenburg, *Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932* (University of Chicago Press, 1958), contains stimulating analyses. An important study of economic ideas during the decade is James Warren Prothro, *The Dollar Decade: Business Ideas in the 1920's* (Louisiana State University Press, 1954). See also Morrell Heald, "Business Thought in the Twenties: Social Responsibility," *American Quarterly*, XXX (Summer, 1961), for a different emphasis. Thomas C. Cochran, *The American Business System* (Harvard, 1957), provides a scholarly analysis of the development in the twentieth century of business as a culture. Otis Pease discusses the advertising industry's attempts to sell in quantity in *The Responsibilities of American Advertising: Private Control and Public Influence, 1920-1940* (Yale, 1958). James T. Adams, *Our Business Civilization* (A. and C. Boni, 1929), has many interesting observations; and Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown, A Study in Contemporary American Culture* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1929), is an important study. Two useful reports are those by Robert D. Kohn, "The Significance of the Professional Ideal," *American Academy of Political and Social Science Annals*, CI (May, 1922), and Harold F. Clark, *Life Earnings in Selected Occupations in the United States* (Harper & Row, 1937).

For a widely held business view of education, see the *Saturday Evening Post*, CIXCIII (April 16, 1921). For education in general, consult the *Bulletins of the Bureau of Education*. Two approaches to the structure and functions of institutions of higher education are D. A. Robertson, *American Universities and Colleges* (Scribner, 1928), and Abraham Flexner, *Universities, English, German, and American* (Oxford, 1930). For efforts to break the "lockstep," see R. L. Duffus, *Democracy Enters College* (Scribner, 1936). A comparable study for the arts is R. L. Duffus, *The American Renaissance* (Knopf, 1928). Richard Hofstadter and C. DeWitt Hardy have a fresh treatment of this period in *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States* (Columbia, 1952).

The foundations are discussed from varying angles in Edward C. Lindeman, *Wealth and Culture* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1935), Frederick A. Ogg, *Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1928); and Abraham Flexner, *Funds and Foundations: Their Policies*



physicist with religious sympathy. Joseph Wood Krutch, *The Modern Temper* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1929), is a keen account of the psychological conflicts of the decade. See also the sociological analysis by Caroline Ware in *Greenwich Village, 1920-1930* (Houghton Mifflin, 1935).

On the impact of the machine on thought there is a plethora of material in the periodicals of the decade. Ralph Borsodi, *This Ugly Civilization* (Harper & Row, 1929); Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1934); Irwin Edman, *Adam, the Baby, and the Man from Mars* (Houghton Mifflin, 1929); *The Contemporary and his Soul* (Cape and Smith, 1931); and Guy Stanton Ford, "Science and Civilization" in *On and Off the Campus* (University of Minnesota Press, 1938), represent a variety of views. Cargill's *Intellectual America* is highly useful at this point.

Edgar Dale, *The Content of Motion Pictures* (Macmillan, 1935), is based on an extensive investigation.

Stuart Sherman, *Americans* (Scribner, 1922) and *The Genius of America* (Scribner, 1923); and John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (Holt, 1927) and *The Quest for Certainty; A Study of the Relation of Knowledge to Action* (Minton, 1929), represent different reactions to similar problems.

## 28. Crisis and New Searches

In his vividly written *Since Yesterday: The Nineteen-Thirties in America* (Harper & Row, 1940), Frederick L. Allen recaptures much of the mood of the decade. Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown in Transition* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1937), shows how the depression accentuated cultural conflict in Muncie, Indiana. Charles and Mary Beard, *America in Midpassage* (Macmillan, 1939), is based on an extensive investigation of firsthand materials and is an illuminating interpretation. *The American Spirit*, also by Charles and Mary Beard (Macmillan, 1942), is helpful, and Harold Stearns (ed.), *America Now: An Inquiry into the Civilization of the United States* (Scribner, 1938) is an interesting anthology. David A. Shannon has collected informative writings of the depression in *The Great Depression* (Prentice Hall, 1960). Dixon Wecter, *The Age of the Great Depression* (Macmillan, 1948), is valuable and contains useful bibliographies.

*Depression, Recovery, and Higher Education, a Report by Committee Y of the American Association of University Professors* (McGraw-Hill, 1937), is an authoritative report. Walter Kotschnig, *Unemployment in the Learned Professions* (Oxford, 1937), includes a discussion of this problem in the United States. *The Schools and the Depression, a State by State Review* (prepared for the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education, Washing-

in John Dewey, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* (Holt, 1936); George H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (University of Chicago Press, 1936); Ernest Nagel, *Principles of the Theory of Probability* (University of Chicago Press, 1939); I. A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (Oxford, 1936); C. K. Ogden and I. K. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1936); Alfred Korschowski, *Science and Sanity* (Science Press, 1934); and the writings of Kenneth Burke, including *Permanence and Change* (New Republic, 1935), and *Attitudes toward History* (New Republic, 1937).

On educational thought, see Merle Curti, "Totalitarianism and American Education," *Educational Forum*, VI (November, 1941); George S. Counts, *The Social Foundations of Education* (Scribner, 1934) and *The Prospects of American Democracy* (John Day, 1938). Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (Knopf, 1961), is an important study of reform in education. Neo-Thomism is expounded by Robert Hutchins, *No Friendly Voice* (University of Chicago Press, 1936) and *The Higher Learning in America* (Yale, 1936). John U. Nef has interpreted contemporary American culture from the Hutchins-Adler-Barr point of view in *The United States and Civilization* (University of Chicago Press, 1942). For an incisive criticism of the Hutchins position, consult Harry D. Gideonse, *The Higher Learning in a Democracy* (Holt, 1937).

On the impact of Marxism, see Sidney Hook, *Toward an Understanding of Karl Marx* (John Day, 1933) and *From Hegel to Marx* (Reynal and Hitchcock, 1936); Lewis Corey, *The Decline of American Capitalism* (Covici, 1934); Granville Hicks (ed.), *Proletarian Literature in the United States* (International Publishers, 1936); and the files of *The Marxist Quarterly*, and *Science and Society*. Eugene Lyons has discussed fellow travelers and front organizations with some animus in *The Red Decade, the Stalinist Penetration of America* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1941). See also Wilson Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party* (University of North Carolina Press, 1951). David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America: A History* discusses the Socialist party from 1901 to 1952. For the reaction against Marxism, see Granville Hicks, "The Failure of Left Criticism," *New Republic*, CIII (September 9, 1940) and *Where We Came Out* (Viking, 1954); Alfred Bingham, *Insurgent America: The Revolt of the Middle Classes* (Harper & Row, 1936); Sidney Hook, *Reason, Social Myths and Democracy* (John Day, 1940); and James Burnham, *The Managerial Revolution* (John Day, 1941). Lawrence Dennis, *The Coming American Fascism* (Harper & Row, 1936) and *Dynamics of War and Revolution* (Weekly Foreign Letter, New York, 1940) are expositions by America's leading intellectual fascist. Raymond Gram Swing, *Forerunners of American Fascism* (Messner, 1934), and Max Lerner, *It is Later than You Think* (Viking, 1938), sounded danger signals.

The literature of the philosophy of the New Deal is extensive. *The Public*

lection of statements of democratic faith. Edward M. Earle, *Against This Torrent* (Princeton, 1941), and Charles A. Beard, *A Foreign Policy for America* (Knopf, 1940), state the interventionist and noninterventionist views. Harold Fields, *The Refugee in the United States* (Oxford, 1938), does not deal fully with the contributions of refugees to our intellectual life, but is suggestive. Donald Peterson Kent, *The Refugee Intellectual: The Americanization of the Immigrants of 1933-1941* (Columbia, 1953), is a valuable study of the problems of assimilation of refugee intellectuals. See also Maurice R. Davie and others, *Refugees in America. Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe* (Harper & Row, 1947).

### 29. American Assertions in a World of Upheaval

Useful studies of the problems of ideology of World War II, of morale, civilian and military, and of loyalty, include Arthur Derounian, *Under Cover* (World, 1943), a firsthand report of subversive groups before and after Pearl Harbor; Pendleton Herring, *The Impact of War, Our American Democracy Under Arms* (Holt, 1941); William F. Ogburn (ed.), *American Society in Wartime* (University of Chicago Press, 1943); Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, *One America* (Prentice-Hall, 1945); Melvin Gingerich, *Service for Peace: A History of Mennonite Civilian Public Service* (Mennonite Central Committee, 1949), the story of Mennonite conscientious objectors; Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (University of Chicago Press, 1949); and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement*, (3 vols., University of California Press, 1946-1954). Of special importance, both from the methodological standpoint and from that of findings, is S. A. Stouffer's *The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life* (3 vols., Princeton, 1949).

Pierce Butler (ed.), *Books and Libraries in Wartime* (University of Chicago Press, 1945), and I. L. Kandel, *The Impact of the War upon American Education* (University of North Carolina Press, 1949), are informative about the agencies of intellectual life during the war. Useful also are M. M. Chambers, *Opinions of Gains for American Education from Wartime Armed Services Training* (American Council on Education, 1946); T. R. McConnell and M. M. Wiley (eds.), "Higher Education and the War," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXXXI (1944); and J. H. Miller and D. Brooks, *The Role of Higher Education in War and After*.

Alfred Cohn's *Minerva's Progress* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1946) is a thoughtful essay on the agencies of intellectual life. William Miller's *Book Industry* (a report of the Public Library Inquiry of the Social Science Re-

roductions to the extensive literature on the problems of atomic control are Ansley J. Coale, *The Problem of Reducing Vulnerability to Atomic Bombs* (Princeton, 1947), and James R. Newman and Byron S. Miller, *The Control of Atomic Energy* (McGraw-Hill, 1947). The reports of the Atomic Energy Commission are, of course, indispensable. Thoughtful discussions of the implications of the new scientific developments for the future of society include Vannevar Bush, *Science the Endless Frontier* (American Council on Public Affairs, 1946), and the same author's *Modern Arms and Free Men* (Simon and Schuster, 1949); *Physical Science and Human Values* (Princeton, 1947), a report of a symposium in which leading philosophers and scientists took part; Norman Cousins, *Modern Man is Obsolete* (Viking, 1945); and the reports of the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, especially that of the seventh conference, Lyman Bryson, et al. (eds.), *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture* (Harper & Row, 1947).

### 30. Dialogues in Our Time

The problem of communication has been widely written about on several levels. The more technical discussions include Leo Bogart, *The Age of Television: A Study of Viewing Habits and the Impact of Television on American Life* (Ungar, 1956); W. Y. Elliott (ed.), *Television's Impact on American Culture* (Michigan State University Press, 1957); David K. Berlo, *The Process of Communication; An Introduction to Theory and Practice* (Holt, 1960); and Joseph T. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication* (Free Press, 1960). James B. Conant has developed his position on the possibility of a lay understanding of the sciences in *Modern Science and Modern Man* (Columbia, 1953), while J. Robert Oppenheimer has discussed the relations between science and the wider culture of our time in *The Open Mind* (Simon and Schuster, 1955).

Reactions to the Cold War, evidences of espionage and subversion, and McCarthyism are discussed from varying points of view in William F. Buckley, Jr. and L. Brent Bozell, *McCarthy and his Enemies* (Regnery, 1954); Richard Rovere, *Senator Joe McCarthy* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1959); Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties; A Cross-Section of the Nation Speaks its Mind* (Doubleday, 1955); and Morton Grodzins, *The Loyal and the Disloyal* (University of Chicago Press, 1956). Sidney Hook's *Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No!* (John Day, 1953) sharply delineated several aspects of the limitations of civil liberties in nonconformist and conspiratorial situations. Edward Shils, in *Torment of Secrecy* (Free Press, 1956),

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